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HISTORY

OF THE

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

IN

SOUTH CAROLINA.

BY GEORGE HOWE, D. D.,

Professor in the Theological Seminary, Columbia, South Carolina.

PREPARED BY ORDER OF THE SYNOD OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

VOL. I.

PART 1

COLUMBIA:
DUFFIE & CHAPMAN.
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HISTORY

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PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

BY GEORGE H. H. D.D.

Published at the request of the Board of Christian Education

VOL. I

PART I

COLUMBIA

DUBUQUE & COMPANY

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PREFACE.

It was two hundred years on the 17th of March, 1733, when the permanent occupation of South Carolina was offered to European settlement. And some twenty years have elapsed since the author, by the appointment of the Synod of South Carolina, began to collect the materials collected in this volume. He was impressed with the idea, which the Revolution has since unfolded the present we were then to see. "What the world after, we now have occupying the soil of those valleys where our forefathers and what they are by virtue of the Revolution. It is not only our duty but our experience. Our Presbyterian Church has achieved a great share of what has been done in the country where it has labored since the Revolution. It is not the least of its achievements of this century. It has been a great and noble adventure, but in this volume, which is the result of the anti-American spirit, the anti-American spirit are doubtless, however, which is to be seen and is to be seen in our children to know their country, who are called by the name of days of darkness, suffering, and blood, and in our children's hearts whether the sons and daughters of martyrs and men of letters, who are called to these privileges which they have so much to learn, and which are the first which have been the first of our people, and which are the first which we are now strangers. It is not till the Revolution that the spirit of the Church in this State commences, the beginnings of which are recorded in some clarity. And as the writer has chosen to do all the chronological succession of events as far as possible, the Church of the Low Country came first in the order of settlement. For the first sixty years of its existence it was not venture far from the sea-coast. It moved slowly and cautiously towards the interior, over which the Indian tribes were still roaming, and not till after the middle of the last century could it be fixed beyond the reach of the State.

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By GEORGE HOWE,

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The work marked out for the author by the Synod at his appointment was a wide one, as the Minutes of November 28, 1843, will show; and in the effort to accomplish it the volume has reached dimensions he did not anticipate.

Our people came hither, bringing with them the views current in the European countries where they were born; and the Churchmen and clergies of

PREFACE.

It was two hundred years on the 17th of March, 1870, since the permanent occupation of South Carolina was effected by European colonists. And some twenty years have elapsed since the writer, by the appointment of the Synod of South Carolina, began to collect the materials embodied in this volume. He was impressed with the idea, which he believes is true, that "to understand the present we must know the past;" that the men who are now here occupying the soil of those savages whom they have displaced, are what they are by virtue of the discipline which they and their ancestors have experienced. Our Presbyterian Church has endured a great fight of afflictions in the countries where it has existed since the Reformation, and the earliest colonists of our own faith came to these shores not merely in the spirit of adventure, but for "freedom to worship God." The three first chapters of this volume, which were written some years since, are occupied chiefly with the ante-American history of our people, with which many of our readers are, doubtless, familiar, but which to know and to bear in remembrance will enable our children to honor their ancestry who wrestled for the truth in days of darkness, suffering, and blood, and to consider with themselves whether the sons and daughters of martyrs and confessors should lightly esteem those privileges which it cost so much to secure, and should forsake the faith which bore them triumphant through perils and difficulties to which we are now strangers. It is not till the Second Book that the special history of the Church in this State commences, the beginnings of which are involved in some obscurity. And as the writer has chosen to adopt the chronological succession of events as far as possible, the Churches of the Low Country come first in the order of narration. For the first sixty years population did not venture far from the sea-coast. It moved slowly and cautiously towards the interior, over which the Indian tribes were still roaming, and not till after the middle of the last century could it be found beyond the centre of the State.

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Our people came hither, bringing with them the views current in the European countries where they were born; and the discussions and changes of



opinion there should be known to account for opinions here, and references to these are introduced in these pages. The calamitous events which have befallen them have called into exercise their Christian virtues in days of temptation and suffering, and notices of these have not been withheld. And yet much that the writer would gladly have admitted of the deeds of our ancestors has been necessarily excluded. As was proved by Dr. Foote in reference to the Churches of Virginia, it is found that another volume will be necessary to bring the narrative down to the present times. These various matters once interwoven in the history, even if it were desired, could not be eliminated in the revision.

To preserve the chronology of events, after the First Book, the work has been written mostly in decades of years. The Second Book covers fifteen years, from 1670 to 1685; the Third Book fifteen, from 1685 to 1700. The other Books, except the last, cover each a period of ten years; so that if the continuous history of any individual Church existing previous to 1800 is sought for, it may easily be found by referring to the Index at the close of the volume. There are advantages on the one hand, and disadvantages on the other, in this arrangement.

The volume addresses itself chiefly to Presbyterians of South Carolina and their descendants. Only those who have made the attempt can know either the labor of preparing it or the cost of its publication in these times. To those brethren and friends who have contributed information respecting their own congregations and neighborhoods the author returns his unfeigned thanks; among whom he cannot omit the names of Daniel Ravenel and D. G. Stinson, Esq., and especially that of Rev. J. H. Saye, who has taken such interest in the work, and to whom we are greatly indebted. Nor would the author fail to acknowledge the favors shown him by the librarians of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the Library of "Old South" Church, Boston, of the Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts, and of Yale College; by Dr. Leyburn also, while Stated Clerk of the General Assembly, and by the Charleston Library Society, for access to the antiquarian treasures in their keeping.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
Columbia, S. C., September 12th, 1870.

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HISTORY

OF THE

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

BOOK FIRST.

PRELIMINARY HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

“THE parts of human learning,” says Lord Bacon, “have reference to the three parts of man’s understanding, which is the seat of learning: History to his memory, Poesy to his imagination, and Philosophy to his reason.” Our own individual history is invested with the deepest interest to each of us; and to retrace the path by which God has led us, that we may remember His faithfulness, and profit by our own success and failures, is rewarded with the richest fruits of knowledge. If the Church could be regarded as a person, possessing one unbroken life and one uninterrupted consciousness, whose memory did not fail with growing years, how rich would the stores of her experience become; how wise would she be; how circumspect and strong with each revolving century! Instead of this, she is a community of persons, themselves dwelling here but for a little season, no small portion of their lives spent in becoming men, and no small portion waning away in the decay which at last is completed in the grave. Yet is it instructive to them, instructive to us, to survey and perpetuate her history;—whether, to use the words of Bacon again, “she be fluctuant as the ark of Noah; or moveable as the ark in the wilderness; or at rest as the ark in the temple: the state of

the Church in preparation, in remove, and in peace." And because there is one and the same God, whose plan spans all duration, and the laws of whose working are constant, like his own nature, in the past we may often behold, as in a mirror, that future which is hastening to meet us. For all our present purposes the Church of God *is* a person; she is incorporated, not by the acts of any human legislation, but by her holy and divine vocation, into the fellowship of Jesus, as the body of Christ, as his chosen bride. History is her memory. Let her explore its treasures, revive the scenes through which she has passed, and adore that Angel of the Covenant who has been her cloudy and fiery pillar, through the sea and the desert, to every land of rest she has ever occupied.

Our own has been pre-eminently a witnessing and a wrestling Church. She was so in the Apostolic period, and has been, from the time of her restoration among the Alpine Mountains by the Lake of Geneva, on the sunny plains of France, in Holland wrested from the sea, among the hills and glens of Scotland, and in the northern provinces of Ireland. She has wrestled with flesh and blood, with the principalities and powers of earth, and with spiritual wickedness in high places. She has borne aloft the banner of the Covenant, and raised her voice of testimony for God's truth and Christ's kingly crown, both as witness and martyr, and has watered the soil of many lands with the blood of her sons and daughters. In her struggles for the supreme headship of Christ over his own body, the Church, she has wrought out, to a large extent, in connection with those who held her truth, the problem of individual freedom and civil liberty. Her traducers are indebted to her, more than they know, for constitutional law, representative government, and freedom from oppression.

The Presbyterians of France, of Switzerland, of Germany, of Holland, of Scotland, England, and Ireland, disciplined in the fires of persecution and tossed by the waves of innumerable calamities, guided by Christ their King to these savage wilds, have built here their altars and planted their institutions of religion and learning, and we their descendants are bound to cherish their memories, and to strengthen ourselves in our love of truth and hatred of wrong by their example. Our own history cannot be truly understood till we understand theirs. This is true of our Church at large, especially true of every portion of it planted in those thirteen States occupying the Atlantic coast—themselves settled by direct emigration from Europe—which wrought out the problem of American

independence. And we propose to consider now those streams of Presbyterian emigration which flowed into one of these States, that of South Carolina, within whose bounds the lot of most who will read these pages is or has been cast.

It is hardly necessary to premise that the Presbyterian Church maintains that system of truth advocated by Augustine against Pelagius and his disciples, and more purely set forth by Zuingli and Calvin in the sixteenth century, and that discipline and order which reappeared in the post-Apostolic period among the Waldenses of Piedmont and the Hussites of Bohemia, and was more fully proclaimed by Calvin at Geneva, who, however, was not able to carry it forth in its perfection in the Cantons of Switzerland. In his own native France, and, after a season, in Scotland, under the teachings of his disciple Knox, did it reach its highest existing perfection. It is the only form of polity, except the Papacy—that invasion of the prerogatives of Christ—in which the Church can exhibit an outward unity answering to its real oneness. In Independence it is separated into elemental particles without cohesion: in Prelacy, unity is only obtained in an earthly head, who professes to be the Vicegerent of Christ. In Presbyterianism the Church is a unit, its members are under a succession of courts rising one above another; and these, if the necessities of Christ's kingdom should ever so require, might be made amenable to a General Assembly of the National Synods of all countries, which should bind together, in a visible unity, the entire Church of Christ throughout the world.

Three great events occurring at no very distant intervals within the fifteenth century, and the early part of the sixteenth, have affected society throughout almost the whole world, and have contributed largely to the extension of Christianity. These three potent events were the invention of printing with moveable types in 1436, the discovery of America by Columbus, 56 years later, in 1492, and the Protestant Reformation, led on by Luther and Zuingli, 25 years later, in 1517. The first book printed was the Bible,* and religious motives, mingled with others, prompted Christopher Columbus in his efforts to discover a new world. The earliest history of this remarkable man now extant, occurs in an edition of an octapla Psalter, printed in Genoa in 1516, ten years after his death,†

* The "Mazarin" Bible of 1455.

† This Psalter was edited by Agostino Giustiniani, Bp. of Nebbio. It is a pentaglott, containing the Hebrew with a literal Latin version, the Latin Vulgate, the Greek, the Arabic, the Chaldee paraphrase, with a Latin transla-

in which the editor, Augustine Justinian, commenting on the third verse of the nineteenth Psalm, "Their line is gone out into all the earth, and their words to the end of the world," affirms that Columbus frequently declared that he was elected of God to fulfil these words, which he regarded as a prediction of the universal spread of the true religion. The belief that he was predestined to discover a new world in fulfilment of prophecy, seems to have sustained him amidst neglect, opposition, and danger, when the mere promptings of ambition and thirst for fame and power would have failed him.

South Carolina has been called "the Home of the Huguenots," and this leads us to speak of them first in the land of their origin. France was the first to embrace the Gospel at the period of the Reformation. Zuingle, in Switzerland, began to preach the truth in 1516. Luther had discovered the way of peace, and preached it, earlier than this; but his first public act, the nailing of his theses against indulgences to the door of the church at Wittemberg, was on the 31st of October, 1517. But before 1512, says D'Aubigné, Lefevre had proclaimed the doctrine of justification by faith—Luther's "doctrine of a standing or falling Church"—in the midst of the very Sorbonne itself. Farel and Olivetan had already embraced it before Zuingle commenced his first study of the Bible, and while Luther was on his journey to Rome, on the business of his monastic order: so that, as Beza claims, if there was priority among the nations embracing the doctrines of the Reformation, this priority is due to France.* Its doctrines took possession of many minds in the higher walks of life. They found adherents in the court of Francis the First: they won the gentle, truth-loving heart of Margaret of Valois, sister of the king, and subsequently Queen of Navarre, who exerted all her influence to promote their progress and protect their professors. Berquin, "the most learned of the nobles," Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux, who, however, recanted; Calvin, a young student of theology, even then exhibiting, in all he did, the superiority of his genius; Beza, who had devoted himself

tion of the same, with Glosses and Scholia. It is the first polyglott of any portion of the Scriptures ever printed, except a single page in 1498-1501. It was printed at Genoa, by Peter Paul Porrus (in *Ædibus Nicolai Iustiniani Pauli*), Nov. 1516. The copy in our possession was brought by Hon. John Forsyth from Spain, in 1822.

* D'Aubigné, *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii., book xii. Théodore DeBèze, *Histoire Ecclésiastique des Eglises Reformées au Royaume de France*, tome i., pp. 1-42.

to the law, but became an eminent minister of Christ, were among those who embraced them.

Even thus early did this portion of the Church of our fathers receive her dreadful baptism of blood. There were many martyrdoms; and in the Canton de Vaud, two and twenty villages were levelled to the ground, 4,000 of the inhabitants massacred,* and many, whose lives were spared, condemned to the galleys. Calvin, Beza, and others, fled to Geneva for refuge. Still the doctrines of the Reformation spread. These persecutions themselves gave occasion to the noble Institutes of Calvin, written to make known the doctrines of his persecuted brethren,† which, for its intrinsic excellence and its historic importance, has been restored in some of our schools to its place as a text-book in theology. Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, a noble of illustrious name, of exalted character and great abilities, became the active promoter of the Protestant cause; while Anthony, duke of Vendome and titular king of Navarre, and Louis, Prince of Condé, both of the royal house of France, lent their influence to this same holy cause,—the first with that wavering purpose which ever characterized him, and the other with that boldness, and daring, adventurous courage, which made him one of the most influential men in France. And thus did the Presbyterian faith rise and spread itself in France, so that from the year 1555, when the first Protestant Church was founded at Paris, in seven years' time, they had increased to 2,140 congregations. So great were their numbers in Paris, that 30,000 or 40,000 would assemble for worship in the meadows without that city,‡ returning within the walls in open day. At the VIIth National Synod at Rochelle, in 1671, at which Beza presided as moderator, they numbered 2,150 churches, some of them formed in the castles of the nobles, but others with 10,000 members, most having two ministers, and some of the largest five collegiate pastors.§ Their polity was, in all respects, the same as our own. The Anciens or Elders, and Deacons (Diares), formed the Consistory or Session, or the Senate of the Church at which the pastor was to preside; and their duties were ordered as in our own book of

* 3,000, Maimbourg, *Histoire du Calvinisme*, Livre 2. *Vide* Gerdesius, iv., p. 160, *et seq.* Béze, livre i., p. 28–42.

† See his dedication to Francis I., *Anno* 1536.

‡ The Pré aux Clercs, where now is the Faubourg Saint Germain. This was the rendezvous of the Protestants, where they would spend their summer evenings in singing Marot's psalms, and in friendly conference.

§ Smedley, i., 183. Quick's Synodicon, vol. i., p. lix.

discipline. The Colloquy answered to our Presbytery, the Provincial Synod to our Synod, the National Synod to our General Assembly; and the trials for proposants for the ministry, and the efforts to establish and maintain schools and colleges, were much the same as have ever characterized the churches of our faith in all lands.* But Presbytery slept on no bed of roses in the kingdom of France. She was then bearing her testimony against Papal corruptions and wrestling for the truth. "I returned, and behold the tears of the oppressed; and on the side of the oppressor was power, and they had no comforter." Calvin had inculcated on them the doctrine of non-resistance to the powers that be, since they were ordained of God; even, says he in his Institutes, "if they were inhumanly harassed by a cruel prince; if they were rapaciously plundered by an avaricious or luxurious one."† But the tide of persecution was so cruelly turned against them in the last part of the reign of Francis I., and still more systematically under Henry II., that men accustomed to arms, and bold and unshrinking in danger, sought to wrest from the hands of power that liberty to worship God which had been so tyrannically denied them. Frequent were the conflicts in arms with their cruel oppressors, and scanty the privileges they gained, even under the guidance of the brave Coligny and the Prince Condé.

The first attempt to found a State on the continent of North America was made by Spain, and by adherents of the Church of Rome, within the present territories of South Carolina. We say the first attempt, because that of the Icelanders, assigned to the year 1000 or 1003, belongs to the province of mythology rather than history. After the discovery of Florida by Ponce de Leon, a companion of Columbus, in 1512, a company was formed in St. Domingo which fitted out two slave-ships under Lucas Vasquez d'Ayllon, and despatched them for that coast in 1515 or 1516. The land they first made they called St. Helena; the river they entered, now known by its Indian name, the Combahee, they called the Jordan; the country was called by its inhabitants Chiquola or Chicora. The unsuspecting and hospitable natives were enticed on board, and when the holds were full, the hatches were closed upon them by the Spaniards, who weighed anchor and bore away for St. Domingo. Many of the natives on board the vessels

* Quick's Synodicon, i., p. vi.—lviii. Aymon, Synodes Nationaux, tome i., Beza, i., p. 109.

† Institutes, b. iv., ch. xx., p. 29.

sickened and died, one of the vessels foundered at sea, and the captors and their prisoners perished together.

D'Ayllon visited Spain and obtained the title of Adelantado, or governor of Chicora, which he proposed to conquer for the Spanish crown. Returning to St. Domingo, he fitted out three vessels at his own expense, and putting one of them under the command of Miruelo, who had been on the Florida coast before, and whom he had engaged as pilot, embarked on his ill-fated enterprise. After various misadventures, for Miruelo had made no observations on his previous voyage, they entered the Combahee, where the largest of the vessels stranded. With the other two vessels he sailed further, found a harbor convenient and accessible, and a desirable, pleasant country, and resolving to found there the capital of Chicora, he took possession of the whole domain in the name of his sovereign Charles V. The natives, dissembling their resentment of his former treachery, treated him with distinguished honors. He was thrown off his guard, and permitted 200 of his men to visit their village, six miles distant. There the Indians feasted for three successive days. But on the third night they rose upon them and put them all to death. By the morning dawn they rushed upon D'Ayllon with that savage war-whoop which has so often brought dismay to the dwellings of the white man, and engaged with him and the remainder of his adherents in bloody strife. Whether he was killed on the spot, or succeeded in reaching his ships, and there died of his wounds, is not recorded. But their ships were the only means of safety. The idea of founding a colony was abandoned, and the two vessels, with the residue of D'Ayllon's men, set sail from the shores where their perfidy had been so signally punished. It is probable that the spot where D'Ayllon attempted to found his colony is not far from the present site of Beaufort.

After this occurred the ill-fated expedition of Narvaez, who landed at Tampa Bay, April 13, 1528, and travelled along the low country of West Florida, and perished near the bay of Perdido, where he was last seen, contending against the strong waves with a miserable flotilla, which he and his men had constructed, in the vain hope of reaching the fleet which had brought him to those shores.

Hernando de Soto was the next to attempt the conquest of the southern portion of what is now the United States of North America. To his standard flocked the brave and adventurous sons of Spain. With 600 men, in the bloom and pride of life, augmented by an accession of followers from

Cuba, he marched through the country, in quest of gold and splendid cities, finding a foe in every hammock, thicket, and winding stream. Although his force exceeded that with which Pizarro had conquered Mexico and Peru, it was quietly melting away. Though they brought with them arms of every kind then known, chains for captives, blood-hounds to track the fugitive barbarians, a forge and armorer for the repair or manufacture of arms, all these availed little against the Indians of North America, whose life was that of a roaming hunter, inured to hardship. With these arrangements for the subjugation of Florida, were others for its conversion to the Romish faith. Twelve priests, with other ecclesiastics, accompanied the march, the paraphernalia of Romish worship were provided, the festivals of the Church were punctually observed, and all processions and pomps celebrated amidst the dense forests and dreary wilderness through which they passed. The natives they had expected to conquer by force of arms, and to convert at the point of the sword and spear.

We shall not follow this remarkable man in his wanderings over the wilderness of what is now Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Missouri, and Arkansas, until his death and burial at midnight in the waters of the Mississippi, in May, 1542. The story is one of wonderful adventure, and of terrible cruelties practised upon the Indians. Relics recently unearthed from the burial mounds of these people have led some to the belief that they had obtained a knowledge of Christianity as professed at Rome, but we can hardly conceive it could have been taught them by these followers of De Soto.

As the French were the first to embrace the truths of the Reformation, so were they the first of all the Protestants to turn their eyes to this American continent to find an asylum from oppression, and to conceive the idea of planting here the institutions of the Gospel, and adding a New World to Protestant Christendom. De Coligny, with an anxious eye, saw the increasing troubles of the Huguenots of France, and turned to the project of planting colonies in America as places of refuge. Nicholas Durand de Villegagnon, a Knight of Malta and Vice-Admiral of Brittany, moved rather by avarice and ambition than by any virtuous impulse, offered, in 1555, to plant a Protestant colony on the coast of South America, to people the country, and convert the heathen nations. He represented it to the king as an enterprise which would greatly promote the commerce of France, and, by these representations, obtained the royal assent and the means necessary.

Care was taken by Coligny, whose confidence Durand had gained, that the colony should consist of a large majority of Protestants. Durand wrote back for a larger number of colonists, and, above all, for "two discreet and active ministers of the Gospel;" and gave a glowing account of his success. Calvin and the Synod of Geneva manifested great interest in the enterprise, and sent out two clergymen, Richer and Chartier, as missionaries. But Durand threw off the disguise he had assumed to obtain his ends, changed his conduct toward those whom he had drawn thither, persecuted them according to the edict of France, and ordered four of them to be thrown into the sea. Disheartened at these events, the ministers, and many of their flock, obtained leave to return. But they were sent home in an unseaworthy vessel, which many of them refused to enter. Those who intrusted themselves to the mercy of the elements, after nearly perishing with hunger from the deficiency of their naval stores, at length reached the coast of France, and delivered a sealed packet to the nearest magistrates, which Durand had assured them would secure to them hospitable treatment; but which denounced them as heretics, and commended them to the secular arm that they might be destroyed. Fortunately, the magistrates of Hennebon, on the coast of Brittany, the place where they touched, were of their own faith, and revealed the perfidy of Durand to the miserable fugitives.* But the divine Nemesis did not long delay. His colony which remained was attacked and expelled by the Portuguese, in 1565, who founded there the present town of Rio Janeiro, the capital of Brazil; so near did this wealthy kingdom come to being a colony of France, and, perhaps, a Protestant rather than a Papal country.

Before these events were fully known, Coligny sent out another band of emigrants, under Jean Ribault, in two vessels of the royal navy, with a company of veterans, and several gentlemen, all of the Huguenot faith, to found another colony, and on our own shores. They sailed from Havre on the 18th of February, 1562, and landed in the St. John's River, in Florida, on the 1st of May, giving it the name of May River on this account. Here he set up a pillar, engraved with the king's arms, and took possession of the country in the name of the king. "The simple natives having beheld the religious worship connected with this ceremony, crowned the pillar with

* Bèze, *Hist. Eccles. i.*, pp. 101-102. Smedley, *i.*, 66. Henry's *Life of Calvin, ii.*, p. 360.

garlands of laurel after the departure of their visitors, and long esteemed it an object of superstitious reverence.”* Thence he sailed northward for four weeks, till he came to a deep and spacious bay, forming an entrance to a noble river, which he called Port Royal, “one of the fairest and greatest havens in the world,” as he says, and which still bears the name he gave it. Here, on the coast of South Carolina, he erected another pillar, similarly engraved, and again took possession of the country in the royal name. Here, also, he built a fort which he called Fort Charles, the traces of whose intrenchments are yet seen;† and having supplied it with tools, provisions, and warlike stores, and left in it a small garrison of twenty-six men—gentlemen, soldiers, and mariners, who had volunteered to remain—he returned to report to Coligny what he had accomplished, and to bring out other colonists to people a land clothed with fertility and beauty. Thus was planted by the Huguenots of France, in South Carolina, the first Presbyterian colony in America, forty-five years before the settlement of Virginia, and fifty-eight before the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth Rock. How Ribault, on returning home, found France involved in civil war, and no one at leisure to attend to the newly planted colony; how they, relying upon supplies from abroad, took no measures, by cultivating the soil, to obtain them; how they were reduced to straits, and became dependent on the friendly Indians for supplies; how dissension arose among them, and their commander was put to death; how they at length constructed the first vessel built by European hands on this continent, and after dreadful hardships at sea, in which one of their number was selected by lot, and his flesh made to satisfy the hunger of the rest, they reached the shores of Europe; how Coligny fitted out a new expedition, the king providing three armed vessels for the enterprise, the command of it being given to Laudonnière, Coligny having advised him to take none with him who were not of his own religion; how officers, soldiers, mariners, flocked to him, and he left with a picked company, among whom were many young men of ancient and noble families; how on the 24th of June, 1564, he entered the St. John’s river, in Florida, which was regarded by the French as a part of Carolina or New France, and there built a new fort, *Arx Carolina*, and how troubles and dissensions arose among them also;

* Rivers, p. 20.† On Paris Island, below Beaufort.—*Rivers’ South Carolina*, p. 52.

how, in the following year, January, 1565, Ribault again sailed with four vessels and a large company, many of them with their wives and children, seeking that freedom in religion which was denied them at home ; how he was followed by a Spanish fleet under Don Pedro Menendez, who landed at the site of St. Augustine, which was then founded by him, and who had orders to propagate the Roman Catholic faith, and destroy all heretics—all these things are matters of history.

The disastrous issue is well known. Ribault placed the women and children in Fort Carolina, leaving there with Laudonière a garrison of eighty men, only twenty of whom were effective, and, crowding nearly all his force aboard the few ships he had, resolved to attack Menendez, and deliver Fort Carolina from so dangerous an enemy. But while he was waiting for the tide to favor, a storm arose and drove the armament of Ribault down the Florida Gulf. Menendez immediately took 500 well-armed men, and came on Fort Carolina before Laudonière knew of his leaving St. Augustine. The Huguenot settlement had been doomed to destruction from the very commencement of the expedition. There were zealous Papists enough at the French Court to inform their Spanish neighbors of the whole armament and expectations of the Huguenot colony. And now, before his attack on the feeble garrison, his men were summoned to an act of worship of the most high God. From their bended knees they rushed to immolate their victims. The garrison, after a short defence, was forced to surrender. So sudden, however, was the attack, that some were slain in their beds, and others in the act of flight. Women, and boys under fifteen, say the Spanish writers, were spared ; but the French speak of the massacre as indiscriminate. After the battle was over, the living and dead were hung alike on the branches of one tree, and their bodies left a prey to the birds of heaven. At the root of the tree, Menendez set up a stone with the inscription : " I do not do this as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." Laudonière, and twenty more, leaped from the parapet, and escaped to the woods, and, at length, on board some small vessels yet in the stream. Menendez hastened back to St. Augustine with a part of his force, to defend it against Ribault, was received with triumph, and with chants of *Te Deum* at his victory. But the unfortunate Ribault was in no condition to attack him. His vessels were dashed in pieces on the Florida coast, their arms and a supply of provisions alone being saved. Their only hope was to thread the shore and reach Fort Carolina,

of whose fate they were not aware. The first party arrived at a stream about twelve miles below St. Augustine, when Menendez heard of their situation. Negotiations were entered into, and they resolved to surrender. Menendez had them brought over the river by tens, with their hands tied behind them; and marched to a line drawn by him in the sand with his cane, and there slaughtered in cold blood. "Seeing they were Lutherans," * says Mendoza, the priest, "the general condemned them all to death." After some days, Ribault, with the rest of his party, were met at the same stream by Menendez with a large escort. Negotiations were entered into, and the French writers tell us that Menendez promised to spare their lives; that the promise was in writing under his hand and seal, and confirmed by an oath. Ribault and his followers advanced to the bank of the river, and were taken across, ten at a time, with their arms pinioned. Ribault was asked whether they were Catholics or Lutherans. He replied, "that he and his companions were of the new religion." Orders were immediately given for their slaughter. The whole number of French, men, women, and children, slain by the Spaniards, is stated in the petition to the king, by the widows, children, and relations of the victims, to have been more than 900. The Huguenots plead with Menendez that their sovereigns were at peace, and that they should not be treated as enemies. He replied, "The Catholic French are, indeed, our allies and friends; but it is not so with heretics. With these I wage a war of extermination, and in this I serve both monarchs." Though the knowledge of these events aroused the indignation of the people, and touched the national honor, and the friends of these murdered men approached the throne with supplications, the court looked upon the whole with perfect apathy. The rumor even became current that this infamous perfidy was perpetrated with the connivance of the king. Certain it is that no remonstrance was ever sent to the Spanish court.†

But while the king refused to redress this great wrong, the Chevalier de Gourgues, a gentleman of Gascony, of an ancient

* By this name were the French Protestants then known, though not affiliated with the Church as established by Luther.

† See on this subject the following authorities. *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, par Marc Lescarbot, Avocat en Parlement, Témoin Oculaire d'une Partie des Choses ici Recitées. Trois édition. A Paris, MDCXVIII., pp. 40-225.—*Mémoire*, par Francisco Lopez Mendoza, Chapelaine de l'Expédition de Pedro Menendez de Abiles, from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale, with other original narratives, edited by H. Ternaux. Paris,

family, and attached to the Papal faith, roused and indignant at the apathy of the court, undertook with his own hand to punish the enormous perfidy. By the sale of his property, and by borrowing from his friends, he fitted out an expedition, keeping his purpose secret until he arrived at the island of Cuba. He then addressed his men, told them of the great wrong which he had come to avenge, and roused their enthusiasm to the highest pitch. Thence he sailed for Fort Carolina. He found that the Spaniards had erected three forts of different degrees of strength. Having arranged with the native Indians, who lent their assistance, each of these was taken in succession. And now came the last act in this drama of retaliation. Gourgues took his prisoners to the place where the companions of Ribault and Laudonnière had been hung, reminded them of that act of treachery, and that he had come to avenge it, and hung them on the same tree on which his own countrymen had been hung by Menendez, leaving behind an inscription on a pine plank, "I did not do this as to Spaniards, nor as to infidels, but as to traitors, thieves, and murderers." After demolishing the forts, Gourgues returned to France. Instead of being rewarded and honored by his own government, he was persecuted by it. Though himself a Roman Catholic, and bent only upon revenging the wrong done to Frenchmen, and to himself *as a citizen of France*, he had, in fact, avenged the wrong of those persecuted Huguenots whom his government hated. He was pursued, too, with bitter malice by Spain, and impoverished by the expenses of the expedition he had fitted out.*

Thus ended the efforts of the French to establish a colony on the Atlantic coast of these Southern States, while the unsuccessful attempt of Velasquez d'Ayllon, in 1520 and 1524, whose treachery to the natives received a signal retribution, kept the Spaniards in the most southern portion of North America. If the Huguenots of France could have been transported to these shores, with the wealth, education, skill in the arts of war and peace, which belonged to them in the days of Henry IV., and with their religious faith, if unmolested,

MDCCCXLI.—Hackluyt's *Voyages*, iii., pp. 300–360.—Sparks' *American Biography*, vol. xvii.; *Life of John Ribault*, and the authorities there quoted. According to Mendoza, who learned the fact from one of the French captives, there were in the expedition two Protestant clergymen.—Ternaux, p. 214. One of these appears to have borne the name of Robert, who is mentioned as the chaplain; the other was Challeux, whose narrative is found in Ternaux, *Comp. Barcia*.

* *La Reprinsé de la Florida*.—Ternaux, i., p. 301.

they would have thriven and flourished here, and converted the wilderness into a garden. But this could not be. Their own country sought to destroy them. Even the colony which was established by the king of France he did not foster and protect. He desired its overthrow rather than its preservation, and allowed his Spanish ally cruelly to destroy what he had not yet resolved to destroy with his own hand. Had France protected this colony she would soon have added to it colonists of another faith, and the Huguenot would have been persecuted here as he was persecuted on his own shores. And had Spain established herself in these territories, we should have had here the worthless and paralyzing institutions of Rome. A pure faith would never have been tolerated, nor our free institutions have existed. Under better auspices and other influences was it the will of Providence that this land should be peopled. And for this we are thankful. God forbid that we should ever bow our necks under the cruel superstitions of the Papal Church; that we should lose aught of that pure doctrine, that healthy spirit of individual freedom, that right of private judgment, that sense of direct responsibility to God alone, as Lord of the conscience, and that submission to the majesty of law, which we have received from that noble ancestry from which we sprung, and which could have been fostered in us by no other nation than that under whose auspices our country was colonized.

Meanwhile, the affairs of France underwent a great change. Weary, apparently, of civil war, peace was concluded at St. Germain in 1570, three years after the events just described, on the basis of amnesty for the past, the free exercise of the Protestant religion in the suburbs of two towns in each province, restoration of confiscated property, and the possession of four cautionary cities for two years, as security for the observance of the treaty. This peace, so grateful to France, caused great sorrow to the Pope. It had been the policy of government to persecute the Huguenots. Now, all is flattery and pretended affection. A marriage was projected between the King of Navarre, the Protestant prince, and Margaret, sister of the King, which was urged by the King upon the Protestants as the surest means of cementing the amity between the two dissentient parties, and, at the same time, apologized for to the Pope as the only means of avenging himself on his and God's enemies, and chastising these great rebels. The facts of this consummate treachery are all well known. The Queen of Navarre, with her children, the Prince Condé

and the King of Navarre, were drawn to Paris to be present at the august ceremony; the Admiral de Coligny, in spite of many warnings, also was drawn there with the chief nobility attached to the Protestant cause, and was received with every demonstration of friendship by the King and the Duke of Guise, his ancient enemy; troops were introduced into the city, ostensibly to protect the Huguenots, but, in truth, for another purpose. As he had been fired at and wounded by an assassin, the Protestant gentlemen were invited to gather around the hotel of Coligny for his greater security, and the King of Navarre was advised to strengthen himself by assembling in his apartments persons most attached to his service. These preparations, for the most consummate perfidy that is found on the pages of history, were duly made. At two o'clock on Sunday morning, the 24th of August, 1572, being the eve of St. Bartholomew's, the church bell of St. Germain was rung, which was the concerted signal. The Duke of Guise, attended by his brother and other gentlemen, went to Coligny's house, which was broken open, the Swiss guards at the foot of the stairs were killed, and the hired assassins of Guise, Besme, and Pestrucchi penetrated to the chamber of the Admiral. Awaked by the noise, he asked his attendant what it was: he replied, "My Lord, God calls us to Himself." Coligny then said to his attendants, "Save yourselves, my friends. I have long been prepared for death." They all left him but one. He betook himself to prayer, awaiting his murderers. Every door was burst open, and Besme appeared before him. "Art thou Coligny?" said he. "I am," said the Admiral: "Young man, you should respect my gray hairs; but do what you will, you can shorten my life but a few days." Besme plunged his sword into Coligny's body: his companions stabbed him with their daggers. Besme then called from the window to Guise that it was done. "Very well," was the reply; "but M. d'Angouleme will not believe it unless he sees him at his feet."

The body was then thrown from the window, and the blood spirted on the faces and dress of the Princes. Guise wiped its face to recognize it, spurned it with his foot, and ordered the head to be cut off. Then was one branch of our Presbyterian Church receiving its baptism of blood. Armed men, and priests with a crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other, preceded the murderers, urging them to spare neither relatives nor friends. When daylight came, headless bodies were falling from the windows, the gateways were blocked up

with the dead and dying, the streets were filled with carcasses, which were dragged along the pavement to the river. The palace of the Louvre was itself filled with blood. The Protestant gentlemen whom the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were advised to assemble around their persons, were called forth into the courtyard, one by one, and killed. Most died without complaining, others appealed to the public faith, and the promise of the King. "Great God!" they cried, "be the defence of the oppressed!" "Just Judge! avenge this perfidy." For three days, and to some extent for a week, the massacre continued. The body of Coligny was tossed into a stable, then drawn through the streets for two or three days, then thrown into the Seine, then drawn out and hung in chains by one foot from the gibbet of Montfaucon; a slow fire being kindled beneath, also greatly disfigured it. The King visited these mangled remains, and when some of the courtiers stopped their noses at the offensive smell, he remarked, "The smell of a dead enemy is always sweet." Even the ladies of the court were seen to descend into the square of the Louvre to view the dead bodies of the gentlemen who had cheerfully conversed with them the day before, which they did with unfeeling merriment and wanton curiosity. This massacre was repeated in other cities, till 30,000, or, as some say, 100,000, were put to death. Yet at Rome there were great rejoicings. The Pope went in grand procession and performed high mass. A *Te Deum* was sung, and a medal struck, bearing on one side the head of Gregory XIII. and on the other the Destroying Angel smiting the Protestants, with the legend *Huguenotorum Strages, 1572*.

After this perfidious and cruel act, the Huguenot Churches were brought to a stand. Many of the Reformed took refuge in England, in the Palatinate, and in Switzerland. Others retired to the fortified cities of Cevennes, Sancerre, Montauban, Nismes, and Rochelle, determined to defend their faith with their lives and treasure. Rochelle was one of the strongest places in France. It was attacked by a mighty army, and by the chief nobility of the French monarchy, but such was the valor of the besieged, that this numerous host, after a loss of 40,000 men, were obliged to come to an understanding with the beleaguered city, and to secure privileges of worship, and restoration of offices and dignities to the confederates. Sancerre suffered more than Rochelle during the siege which it underwent. The inhabitants were reduced to such straits as to satisfy the cravings of appetite with the most revolting food.

The skins of animals macerated in water were in great esteem, and *literary* repasts, not figuratively but literally, were often indulged in. Not only blank parchments, but letters, title-deeds, books, printed or manuscripts, after having undergone this process, were eaten as food. Old and valuable records and deeds thus contributed to sustain life. "One could still read," says Lery, pastor of La Charité, and former historian of Villagagnon's expedition, "the characters printed or manuscript in the morsels which were on the plate ready to be eaten." Charles IX. seems to have declined in health from the night of St. Bartholomew. Sleep often fled from his eyes, his nights were disturbed by horrid dreams of the blood, murder, and perfidy of those awful scenes. Blood is said to have exuded from every pore, and his frame to have been torn with strong convulsions. He died in 1574, in the 24th year of his age and the 13th of his reign, the victim of remorse. His death was followed by that of the brave Montgomery, the general of the Huguenots, who was first subjected to the torture and then executed by the cruel Catharine of Aragon, the queen-mother. Henry III. succeeded to the throne, a dissolute monarch, of low and brutal tastes, and of blind devotion to the Church of Rome.

The Prince Condé had raised an army in Germany, the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre, brothers of the reigning monarch, had escaped from Paris and joined the Huguenot forces, and the mightiest confederacy and the goodliest army which had ever supported the cause of the Reformed were now arrayed against the oppressions of the court. But it melted away before the genius and duplicity of Catharine. She granted an amnesty for the past, freedom of worship everywhere but in Paris and two leagues around, the right to build churches, erect schools, print books, administer sacraments, solemnize marriages, hold consistories and synods. Courts half Catholic and half Protestant were granted, and cautionary towns were given up to the Reformed. By these measures the Huguenot league was disarmed, though neither Henry nor his mother intended to observe the conditions of the peace. The flames of war were again rekindled in 1577, and raged till 1580, when the Huguenots regained the concessions they had before enjoyed. In 1583 they attempted to form a general union of the Protestant States of Europe, and with this intent undertook negotiations with Queen Elizabeth, to induce her to put herself at the head of a Protestant League. They represented the patrimonial revenues of Henry

of Navarre, at that time, to amount to 300,000 crowns annually, and that from his patrimonial domain he could furnish 300 gentlemen, handsomely accompanied, and 6,000 well-armed arquebusiers. Among the fiefs which he held as vassal of the French crown, the county of Foix could furnish 6,000 more. The district from the Spanish frontier to Dordogne, six days' journey, abounding in noble estates and rich cities, a numerous population, and chivalrous nobles, was wholly devoted to the Protestant cause. The whole of Languedoc, with the exception of two or three places, was devoted to the Huguenots. In Provence, their churches had greatly increased. Dauphiné could give 4,000 arquebusiers, and 400 veteran gentlemen who had been in the saddle since the commencement of their religious struggles. Through the whole length of France, from the Savoy to the Pyrenees, at every three leagues, a traveller might lodge in some town which either belonged to the patrimony or was under the protection of the King of Navarre. In the district between the Garonne and the Dordogne, 4,000 arquebusiers might be collected any time in four days, and 6,000 more and 500 gentlemen would flock to the banners of the Prince of Condé from Angoulême, Saintonge, Poitou, and Aunis. And, though in the northern provinces the Huguenots had been scattered since the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, they were yet secretly banded together, and there was not a corner where some gentleman did not reside, at whose summons the Huguenots of all classes would take the field, if the occasion should demand. The University of Orthés also was under the care of learned men, and there were always in attendance as many as fifty students, preparing, by a ten years' course of study, for the holy ministry. Elizabeth, however, could not be induced to declare for this alliance, and rejected, also, the personal suit of the Duc d'Anjou, who had been suing for her hand the last ten years. Their efforts were unsuccessful also in Germany. In 1584, the Duke of Guise, with the other Popish chiefs, formed a league with Philip of Spain for the extermination of the Huguenots, and the transference of the French crown to the family of the Guises.* The irresolute King Henry III., for his own

* This led to energetic efforts on the part of the Protestants. England furnished subsidies. Beza, now an old man, went on a pilgrimage from Geneva to the Protestant princes of Germany, and succeeded in obtaining a large auxiliary force to aid their cause. The two armies met at the battle of Coutras, in 1587. The army of the Leaguers glittered with gold and silver, like that of the Persians of old; that of the Protestants, led on by Henry of

protection, procured the assassination of the Duke of Guise, and sought an alliance with the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, who were at the head of the Protestant cause. They supported him till his death by the hand of an assassin, in 1589, when the King of Navarre, with the title of Henry IV., succeeded to the throne. He was obliged to contend however still for his crown, and proved himself equal to every emergency. At the battle of Yvry, with an army of 10,000 men, he engaged the Leaguers, who brought to the field a force which was double of his. "If you lose sight of your standard," says he to his soldiers, "bear my white plumes in view; they will ever be found in the path of honor and duty." His efforts were rewarded with a complete victory. As he saw no hope, however, of putting a stop to the civil wars, he at length, to the great grief of the Protestant nobles, professed the religion of Rome. Many have believed that he was wholly influenced to do this by motives of policy; but Sully, who well knew his heart, believed that, though these "first suggested to him the idea of conversion, he brought himself in the end to regard the Catholic Church as the more certain of the two." In April, 1598, the King, not unmindful of his former friends, and dreading lest any longer delay should convert them into enemies, caused the celebrated Edict of Nantes to be published, which consisted of 92 original articles, with 50 subsequently added as explanatory, in which free toleration and liberty of conscience were proclaimed throughout the kingdom for the Huguenots. This edict also gave them equal civil rights, equal privileges in the universities and schools, eligibility to office, courts half Protestant and half Catholic for the trial of their causes. The XVth National Synod of the Huguenot Church assembled in the month of May, 1598, at which time the number of Reformed

Navarre, were clad in threadbare garments, without any ornaments, weather-beaten men, inured to toil and hardship. No sooner were they formed in line of battle than they raised, after the manner of our forefathers in Scotland, the 118th Psalm, and then knelt while a short but fervent prayer was offered. The officiating minister, D'Amours, no sooner than he had concluded this act of devotion, drew his sword and mingled with the foremost combatants, with his head uncovered and with no other defensive armor than a corselet. The attitude of prayer was regarded by some of the younger cavaliers of the opposing army as the result of fear. "'Sdeath! they tremble," cried they, "the cowards are at their devotion!" A veteran officer, however, who knew them better, turned to Joyeuse, the general, and assured him that after the Huguenots had been so employed, they fought to desperation. The armies joined battle. The King of Navarre exhibited the greatest coolness and valor, and was ever in the thickest of the fight, and more than 400 royalists of honorable birth, and 3,000 soldiers, were left dead on the field of battle.

churches amounted to 760, and some of them were very large, and had three, four, and five pastors ; others were very small, in great poverty and distress, and were united two or three together under one minister. The Edict of Nantes was honorably observed by Henry till his lamented death, which was caused by the dagger of Ravaillac, a fanatic, on the 14th of May, 1610.

When Cardinal Richelieu became prime minister under Louis, he set himself at work to suppress the liberties of the Huguenots, and preparations were made for the capture of Rochelle, their chief stronghold, which yielded after a siege of nearly 18 months, during which the garrison was reduced from 27,000 to 5,000, and out of nearly 600 Englishmen, left in the city by Buckingham, only 62 survived. Privas was taken, plundered and burnt, and one stronghold after another yielded to the royal arms. Measures were now set on foot for the conversion of the Protestants. Men of high birth were won by the promise of rank and honors. It was declared to be "essential for all the subjects of a sovereign to have the same creed." Inducements of every kind were held out to abjure the Protestant faith. Laws were passed to prevent a relapse after abjuration. Protestant ministers were forbidden to expostulate with any who had expressed their conversion. An edict against emigration was issued in 1669. Edict followed edict. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes began even now to be contemplated. At length the King fell under the influence of Madame de Maintenon, the grandchild of Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigné, who had renounced the Calvinistic faith, and adopted that of Rome. Protestants were declared incapable of exercising the office of notary, of acting in any branch of the legal profession, of practising medicine. The trades of the apothecary, grocer, printer, and bookseller were forbidden them. No Protestant of any trade was allowed to have an apprentice. Those who abjured the Protestant faith were allowed the delay of three years for the payment of their debts, while the greatest rigor was used in relation to others.

CHAPTER II.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN SCOTLAND.

THE scene now changes to another country. It was on the soil of Scotland that the Presbyterian Church chiefly bore her

testimony and wrestled unto blood, for Christ's Crown and Covenant, against royal tyranny and prelatical domination. The doctrines of our Confession had been known there at a far earlier day. According to Tertullian,* who lived in the second century, "those portions of Britain which were inaccessible to the Romans had submitted to Christ." Scotland appears to have received the Gospel directly from Asia at that early period. About the close of the third century the Scottish race occupied Ireland, which bore the name Scotia as late as the eleventh century. About A. D. 410, Succath, whose historic name is Patrick, was born at Bonnaven (called after him Kil-Patrick, or Kirk-Patrick), which is midway between Dumbarton and Glasgow. After being twice in bondage as a captive, he became the Apostle of Ireland, and was the instrument of making it what it afterward became, "Insula Sanctorum," "Island of Saints." In his day, the Saxons, then a pagan race, invaded and conquered England, and the flying Britons escaped in different directions, carrying the gospel with them, to the north of Scotland, to Wales, the north of Ireland, and the north of France,† where their descendants remain to this day. Columba was born in Ireland, A. D. 521, and first preached Christ, with great success, in his own country, and afterward went on missionary labor to the Picts of the neighboring coast of Scotland. His preaching was attended with great results, and the King of the Picts gave him the small island of Iona,‡ as a reward for his disinterested exertions. He returned to Ireland, secured twelve assistants, and established himself on the island he had thus obtained by the royal gift. Numbers resorted to them for religious instruction, their little huts and rude chapels were soon superseded, and in a few years the island was covered with cloisters and churches, and inhabited by a numerous body of students and clergymen. The establishment at Iona has been called a convent, but many of the convents of that day were hardly more of monastic institutions than are colleges and theological seminaries now. It was an extensive theological seminary and missionary school. The grand design and effort of Columba and his assistants was to train up men for the holy ministry.

From this institution preachers were sent to England, Ire-

* Advers. Judæos, c. 7; also Chrysost., t. vi., p. 635; Euseb., l. iii.

† Hence called Brittany.

‡ Called also I, Hii, and Icolmkill. The original name was I, i. e. *Island*: I—columb—kill, *the island of Columba's cell, or retreat*. Jamieson, *Ancient Culdees*, pp. 3, 4, 5, 354–357.

land, Scotland, and Wales, and they even crossed the Channel and carried the light of the gospel into Belgium and Germany. Not less than a hundred similar institutions, modelled upon that of Iona, were said to have arisen in different parts of Britain, in which missionaries and ministers were also trained.

Such were the institutions of the ancient Culdees of Scotland, who maintained the pure doctrines of God's word, and our own the Presbyterian and apostolic form of government, when "all the world were wondering after the beast," and one thousand years before Calvin was born. They held to the parity of ministers, and knew nothing, except by hearsay, of the prelatical form of government. They opposed the celibacy of the clergy, rejected the auricular confession, penance, absolution, confirmation, the use of the chrism in baptism, the worship of saints, angels, and the virgin, and relied solely on the merits and righteousness of our Lord Jesus Christ. They commenced their efforts in England about the same time that Augustine and his forty monks arrived from Rome—they laboring in the north, and the Romish missionaries in the south. Their opposition to Rome may be judged of by the following extract from the poems of Talliessin, who is supposed to have lived about A. D. 620 :

"Wo be to that priest yborn,
That will not cleanly weed his corn,
And preach his charge among :
Wo be to that sheperd, I say,
That will not watch his fold alway,
As to his office doth belong :
Wo be to him that doth not keepe
From *Romish* wolves his erring sheepe,
With staff and weapons strong."*

The kings of England, however, favored the splendid ritual of Rome : the Romish priests were intolerant and overbearing, and the Culdees, who could not conscientiously conform, returned to Scotland, leaving the plains of the south to the ministers of Rome.† And, thanks to God! the spirit of the

* Usher, Religion of the Ancient Irish, p. 83, where the original Gaelic may be seen. See also Mason's Primitive Christianity in Ireland, p. 43.

† Jamieson, Hist. of the Culdees, p. 91. The name *Culdee* is of uncertain etymology. It is derived by some from the Latin *Cultor Dei*, worshipper of God, while others derive it from the Gaelic *Kyldee*, from *Cylle* or *Cuil*, a cell, in the plur. *Celydi*, those who occupy religious retreats.—Jamieson, p. 5. Authority for the above facts may be found in Bede, Hist. Eccl. Anglorum, lib. ii. c. xix., lib. iii. c. iii., iv., v., xiv., xxv., xxvi., lib. iv., c. iv. See Opera, t. iii. Jamieson, Hist. Account of the Ancient Culdees, 4to. Edinburgh, 1811. Archbp. Usher, Disc. of the Rel. anciently professed by the Irish and British. Mason's Primitive Christianity in Ireland, Dublin, 1836. Stuart,

old Culdees has never since been wholly extinguished in Scotland, North Ireland, and Wales. It is honorable to St. Columba and his establishment at Iona, that forty-eight kings of Scotland, four of Ireland, eight of Norway, and one of France, lie interred on that island—a fact which shows how much the Culdees were revered, and how widely their influence had extended. It was not till the fourteenth century, about the time that Wickliffe* arose in England, “the morning star of the Reformation,” that the Culdee establishments were subjected by the Scotch kings to bishops connected with the see of Rome, and gross darkness covered the land.

Scotland received the light of the Reformation almost as soon as it shone forth on the continent of Europe. In 1528, thirteen years after D'Ayllon's visit to Carolina, and ten years before the expedition of Hernando de Soto to Florida, Patrick Hamilton, her first martyr, sealed his testimony to the truth with his blood. John Knox, the great Reformer of Scotland, received his remarkable call to the ministry in 1547, and ten years after this, on the 3d of December, 1557, the First Covenant, in this land of covenants, was signed by the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Morton, Archibald lord of Lorn, and a great number of distinguished men among the lesser barons and gentry. On the 31st of May, 1559, the Second Covenant was signed by “the Lords of the Congregation;”† for it was a remarkable fact in Scotland, as well as in Germany and France, that the nobility and gentry came forward, and often took the lead in the Reformation. The Queen-mother, Mary of Guise, then Regent of Scotland, of the illustrious house of Lorraine, which had so successfully headed the persecution of the Protestants of France, assisted by the ecclesiastics, did all in her power to oppose the Reformation, and was aided by French troops furnished by Francis II. In 1560, December 20th, the First General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was held, consisting at this its first convocation of but forty members, only six of whom were ministers of the gospel. These six constituted, however, one-half of all the reformed

Historical Memoirs of the city of Armagh, Newry, 1819, particularly Appendix Nos. v. and xiii. Munter's Early British Church, Bib. Repository, vol. iv. p. 551, et seq. Dr. Pond's Essay on the Convent of Jona, Am. Quarterly Register for 1839, p. 153, et seq. Introd. by McGavin to John Knox's Hist. of the Reform. in Scotland. And the interesting account of the ancient Culdees, in “Presbytery not Prelacy the Scriptural and Primitive Polity,” by Rev. Dr. Smyth of Charleston, b. iii. c. i. and ii. See also the Culdee Church, by Rev. T. V. Moore, D. D.

* 1365–1384.

† Hetherington, p. 38.

ministers in the entire kingdom. This assembly adopted the First Book of Discipline drawn up by the Reformer John Knox, and others, which, while it embraced some provisions of a temporary character, embodied the main features of the Presbyterian polity. The ordinary officers of the church were four—the pastor or minister, whose duty it was to preach and administer the sacraments; the doctor or teacher, who was to interpret the Scripture and refute error, among whom were included teachers of theology in schools and universities; the Ruling Elder, who aided the minister in the exercise of discipline; and the Deacon, who had special charge of the poor and the revenues of the church. To these permanent officers were added two others of a temporary character, Exhorters or Readers, who having received a good common education, were to endeavor, by reading and exhortation, to propagate the truth. The other temporary officers were Superintendents, of which five were appointed to traverse the country, to preach, plant churches, and search out men who might be appointed Exhorters. No person was appointed to the ministry without “a call.” “Ordinary vocation consisteth in election, examination, and admission.” “It appertaineth to the people and to every several congregation to elect their minister.” The examination was to take place “in open assembly, and before the congregation,” to satisfy the church as to his “gifts, utterance, and knowledge.” Admission to the ministry, or ordination, took place by the candidate being set apart by prayer, at first without imposition of hands, which afterward was appointed to be done. The affairs of the congregation were conducted by the minister, elders, and deacons, who constituted the Kirk session, which met regularly once a week, and, if necessity required, oftener than this. A meeting, called the weekly exercise, or prophesying, consisting of the ministers, exhorters, and educated men in the vicinity, was held in every town for expounding the Scriptures. This eventually became the Classical Assembly or Presbytery. The Superintendent met with the ministers and delegated elders of his district twice a year, in the Provincial Synod. And the General Assembly, composed of ministers and elders commissioned from different parts of the kingdom, met twice or thrice in a year and attended to the interests of the National Church. The revenues which constituted the patrimony of the Church under the Romish sway, it was proposed should be appropriated to the support of the *ministry*, the *schools*, and the *poor*. The revenues of bishoprics, cathedrals, and the rents arising from monastic

endowments were to be divided and appropriated to universities and to the churches within their bounds. Discipline was to be strictly administered for "reproving and correcting of the faults which either the civil sword doth neglect or may not punish."*

The Protestant Church of France had adopted its Confession of Faith the year before, consisting chiefly of articles of doctrine, declaring for the Presbyterian polity, the equality of all true pastors under one sole chief, sole sovereign, and sole universal Bishop, Jesus Christ. In 1581, the Second Book of Discipline was adopted in the third year of James I., and became the Standard of the Church of Scotland, as to government and discipline. In it the office of Superintendent has disappeared; and the "ad interim" office of exhorters or readers, the ministers being now sufficiently numerous, has been discontinued. The officers of the Church are of three kinds:—ministers who are preachers and rulers; elders who are merely rulers; and deacons who act as distributors of alms and managers of church funds. Ecclesiastical courts are either particular (consisting of the office bearers of one congregation, or of a number of neighboring congregations), provincial, national, or ecumenical or general, and were arranged substantially as with us.

The patrimony of the Church, according to the Second Book, consists of whatever has been appointed to her use by donation, law, or custom. And it belongs to *deacons*, according to this book, to receive the property of the Church and apply it according to the direction of presbyteries.

The revenues of the Bishoprics never did fall into the hands of the Church as reformed; two-thirds were retained by the prelates incumbent; the whole was grasped at by the nobles, who attempted to continue the prelatical order, so as through nominal prelates to obtain themselves possession of the funds. Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, was nominated Archbishop of Glasgow. This brought the Church of Scotland into immediate conflict with the civil power. The Presbytery of Stirling summoned Montgomery to its bar, and inhibited his acceptance of the prelacy. The General Assembly ratified this sentence, and declared that he had incurred the sentence of deposition and excommunication. He submitted himself to the Assembly, but the Presbytery of Glasgow were appointed to watch his conduct, and, if he violated his engage-

* Hetherington, pp. 53-56.

ment, to report him to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who were empowered to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against him. Montgomery revived his claim to the prelacy under the instigation of the Duke of Lennox, to whom the revenues of the Archbishopric were granted by the privy council. The Presbytery of Glasgow met, therefore, to do as they were directed by the General Assembly, but Lennox having obtained an order from the King, entered the place where they were sitting, dragged the moderator from his chair, insulted, beat him, and cast him into prison. Presbytery, however, proceeded as directed: the Presbytery of Edinburgh appointed one of their number to pronounce the sentence, which was accordingly done, and published abroad. A proclamation of the civil council declared this excommunication void, and in various ways the indignation of the king and his courtiers was shown. But the Church in this juncture was firm to her trust. An extraordinary meeting of the Assembly was called, and a bold remonstrance addressed to the sovereign. In stating to him their grievances, they do not mince their words: "Your majesty, by device of some counsellors, is caused to take upon you a spiritual power and authority, which properly belongeth unto Christ, the only King and Head of the Church, the ministry and execution whereof is only given to such as bear office in the ecclesiastical government of the same. So that in your Highness's person some men press to erect a new popedom, as though your majesty could not be full king and head of this commonwealth, unless as well the spiritual as temporal sword be put in your Highness's hand; unless Christ be bereft of his authority, and the two jurisdictions confounded which God hath divided, which directly tendeth to the wreck of all religion."

A deputation, with Andrew Melville at their head, presented this bold remonstrance to the king in council. Its reading having been finished, Arran, looking over the assembly with a threatening countenance, asked, "Who dares subscribe these treasonable articles?" "WE DARE!" replied Andrew Melville, and seizing a pen, immediately subscribed them, and was followed by his brother commissioners.

Melville was arraigned for these and other declarations, and fled for his life. These conflicts for the spiritual independence of the Church became more and more severe, and many clergymen sought safety to their persons in the neighboring country of England. The Church of Scotland stood nobly, amid severe contendings and sufferings, up to her testimony for the sole

Headship of Christ. Yet she made common cause with James against those schemes entered into by Popish sovereigns of Europe for the utter extermination of Protestantism, which, as to France, reached their acme in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, and as to England and Scotland, in the Spanish invasion. These distinguished services drew forth from James his famous panegyric on the Church of Scotland, in the General Assembly of 1590. "He blessed God that he was born in such time as in the time of the light of the Gospel, and in such a place as to be king of such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in all the world. The Kirk of Geneva," says he, "keepeth Pasch and Yule. What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbor Kirk in England, their service is an evil-said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly."*

Thus full and clear were the declarations of the king, under the influence of probably his sincere convictions, united with a grateful remembrance of the assistance and loyalty of the Church in the past season of peril.

When he had in view the possibility and probability of his succession to the English throne, he was willing enough to favor prelacy; and this, too, put ecclesiastical power and patronage into the royal hand. Two years after, in 1592, the Parliament of Scotland ratified the General Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, and particular Sessions of the Church, with their jurisdiction and discipline, to be in all time coming most just, good, and godly, notwithstanding whatsoever statutes, acts, and laws—canon, civil, or municipal—made to the contrary.

Thus matters stood, the Church of Scotland clearly established by law, the king's supremacy declared to be in no wise prejudicial to it in matters of religion, commissions to bishops and other judges in ecclesiastical causes declared to be null and void, and nothing now to prevent the prosperity of spiritual religion, and the public peace, but the worldly ambition or avarice of the nobles, and the royal thirst for power.

These influences were neither slow nor scrupulous in their operation. In his *Free Law of Free Monarchies*, and his *Basilicon*

* Hetherington, pp. 93-94.

Doron addressed to his son Henry, James claimed for a king that he should be a "free and absolute monarch;" that his office is of a mixed kind, partly civil and partly ecclesiastical; that a principal part of his function is to rule the Church, that parity in the Church should be banished, episcopacy set up, and all who preached against bishops vigorously punished. And yet the same king could "lift up his hand and vow, in the presence of God and of the Assembly, that he would, by the grace of God, live and die in the religion presently professed in the realm of Scotland, and defend it against all its adversaries." In the next year, March 31st, 1603, news having reached Scotland of the death of Elizabeth, James was proclaimed King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland. His arrival in England was hailed with something of enthusiasm by the English people, and all sects of religionists presented him addresses and sought his protection. But he had resolved to part with his old friends, and to do it with some show of decency. He therefore appoints a conference between the High Church party and the Puritan non-conformists, he himself appointing the parties to be present on both sides. It would afford him an opportunity to show off his theological learning, of which he was not a little vain. In this conference he became a party instead of an umpire, browbeating the Puritans, who were few in number, while he took care that the chief dignitaries of the English Church should be present. "No bishop, no king," was the maxim he more than once emphatically pronounced. To the remarks of Dr. Reynolds on the power of excommunication, he replied, that he found them aiming at a "Scot's Presbytery," which, said he with profane levity, "agrees with monarchy as well as God with the devil." "If this be all," says he, "which your party have to say, I will make them conform, or harry them out of the land, or else do worse."*

The king and his adherents in Scotland were assiduous in their efforts to corrupt the government of the Church. By degrees, by means of bribery, treachery, persecution, and by raising sectional jealousy among clergymen themselves, and by overawing the Assembly which met at Perth, in obedience to the royal mandate, they at length partially accomplished their object. *The Five Articles of Perth* were carried by a majority, one nobleman, one doctor, and forty-five ministers voting in the negative.† By these, *kneeling at the communion*,

* Neal's History of the Puritans, i., 252.

† August 27th, 1618.

the observance of holidays, episcopal confirmation, private baptism, and the private dispensation of the Lord's supper were authorized; points which were innovations upon the discipline of the Church of Scotland, and the precursors of still greater innovations. On Saturday, the 4th of August, 1621, the five articles of Perth were ratified in the Parliament of Scotland by a small majority. The act was ominous of evil, and not without singular coincidences, which were noted at the time, and were long remembered in Scotland.

"The morning," says the historian, "had been dark and lowering, and clouds piled on clouds gathered over the capital. At the very moment when the Marquis of Hamilton and the Lord High Commissioner rose to touch the Acts with the royal sceptre, in token of their ratification, a keen blue flash of forked lightning blazed through the gloom, followed by another and another, so bright as to blind the startled and guilty Parliament in the act of consummating their deed. Three terrific peals of thunder followed in quick succession, hailstones of prodigious magnitude descended, and sheeted rains, so heavy and continued as to detain in durance the perpetrators of this treason against the King of kings, by subjecting his Church to an earthly monarch. This disastrous day was known for long years in Scotland as 'the black Saturday'—black with man's guilt and the frowns of Heaven."* "The sword is now put into your hands," writes the King to Spotswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews; "go on, therefore, to use it, and let it rest no longer, till ye have perfected the service intrusted to you."† In the same year in which the articles of Perth were adopted in the General Assembly, the Synod of Dort assembled in Holland. James had joined with the House of Orange in the convocation of this Synod; and under his appointment, Carleton, Bishop of Landaff; Davenant, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge; Ward, Master of Sydney College; Hall, Dean of Worcester; and Balcanquhall, a Scotch divine, attended as deputies. James, however, had conceived a disgust alike for the Presbyterians of Scotland and the Puritans of England; he associated with them the Calvinistic faith and the limitation of the royal prerogative, and became by the operation of these causes favorable to the Arminian creed.

Three years after these events, on the 27th of March, 1625, James I. departed this life, leaving behind him, in England and

* Hetherington, p. 126.

† Calderwood, p. 784.

Scotland, a misgoverned people, a country harassed with religious differences and with party feuds, and possessing in active operation the elements of change and revolution. In Scotland he had been decent in conduct. In England, "the land of promise," he yielded himself up to luxury and licentiousness. His language was often obscene, his acts indecent, his speech profane, nor was he free from the crime of drunkenness. Two acts of his alone remain fruitful in good, which, however, were not of his own original suggestion. One was his setting on foot the English version of the Sacred Scriptures, which Dr. Reynolds, in behalf of his Puritan brethren, requested might be undertaken, and which had been suggested by the Assembly in Scotland two years before, and cordially entertained by him.* The other was his project of colonizing the northern provinces of Ireland with a Protestant population, which has had so salutary an influence on Ireland itself, and had so much to do with the planting of Presbyterianism in America, and especially in the State of South Carolina.

The forty-five years intervening between the death of James and the first settlement of South Carolina, were replete with great events. Charles I., the son and successor of James, was not wanting in intellectual gifts and refined culture. In his religious belief he was an Arminian, in church government a zealous promoter of Episcopacy, and in private life unblemished; but, as a King, his life was a series of wretched blunders. "He had an incurable propensity to dark and crooked ways," and "was perfidious from constitution and habit, and on principle also."† A season of great trial was now approaching the Church of Scotland, and to prepare her for it her Lord and Head poured out upon her his gracious Spirit. For a period of five years, from James's death, at Irvin and Stewarton, there was what Fuller calls "a great spring-tide of the Gospel," so that, "like a spreading moor-burn, the power of godliness did advance from one place to another." In the Kirk of Schotts, in 1630, there was a still more powerful demonstration of the Spirit, under the preaching of John Livingston, then but a licentiate, and but 17 years of age, when 500 persons experienced conversion under a single sermon.

* "The Scottish divines of all parties adhered to the Geneva Bible until about the year 1640, when the present translation, originally designed only for the English Church, and too partial to Prelacy, was at length silently established in general use." Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland, p. 87 (published anonymously, but written by Rev. John Lee, D.D., F. R. S. E., quoted by Reid, Pres. Ch. of Ireland, i., p. 239).

† Macaulay, i., 78.

Charles and Archbishop Laud now determined to force the English service, or rather, one still more closely conformed to the Romish missal, on the people. The first step was to frame a book of Canons, which bound the Liturgy yet to be published, upon the Scottish Church. After this followed the Liturgy in 1637, and this was ordered to be used in Edinburgh on Sabbath, the 23d of July. It was more than could be borne by people who had been long weighed down by ecclesiastical oppression. In the church of St. Giles, the dean in his surplice began to read the service of the day, when Jenny Geddes, an aged woman of the common people, unable to restrain her anger, rose and exclaimed, "Villain, dost thou say mass at my lug?" and seizing the stool on which she had been sitting, hurled it at the dean's head. Missiles flew in all directions and the dean was glad to escape with the loss of his sacerdotal garments. In all the churches the Liturgy was performed either amid scenes of great confusion, or of sorrow and lamentation. The people, clergy, and nobles of Scotland rallied in behalf of an oppressed church. On the 28th of February, 1638, it was appointed that Scotland should resume and renew her solemn covenant with God. A form had been prepared embodying the former covenant, and after prayer to God by Henderson, and an address by the Earl of Loudon, Johnston unrolled the vast parchment and read it aloud. A solemn stillness ensued, and all felt themselves in the dread presence of God, to whom they were about to avow their allegiance.

At length the aged and venerable Earl of Sutherland stepped forward, and with great solemnity, and a hand trembling with emotion, subscribed Scotland's covenant with God. Name after name followed, till the entire congregation within had subscribed it. The roll was then taken to the churchyard, spread upon a tombstone, and subscribed by the assembled multitude. The emotion deepened every moment. Some wept, some broke forth in exultation, some added, after their names, *till death*; some opened a vein and subscribed it with their own blood,—sad prophecy of what was to come! As the space on the parchment became less, many wrote their names in a more contracted form, others subscribed with their initials, till not a spot was left. "Again," says the historian, "they paused. The nation had formed a covenant in ancient days, and violated it. What if they should prove faithless too! With heartfelt groans and flowing tears they lifted up their right hands to heaven, and called God to witness, in solemn

adjuration, that they had joined themselves to the Lord in everlasting COVENANT, which shall not be forgotten."

Thus, "the first performance of the foreign ceremonies produced a riot: the riot rapidly became a revolution."* The King despatched a fleet to Scotland, and marched at the head of an army to coerce his ancient dominion. The Lords of the Covenant were ready for him. They encamped an army on Dunse Law, a conical hill, in sight of the royal forces, and about six miles distant. In a few days it numbered 24,000. The hill bristled with field-pieces. The regiments were encamped, each in its own cluster, around the sides. At the tent door of each captain a banner-staff was planted, from which floated the Scottish colors, displaying also the inscription, in letters of gold, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant!" Regularly as morning dawned, or the shades of evening drew on, the beat of drum or clangor of trumpet summoned each regiment to their worship, which was conducted mostly by the same pastors who ministered to them at home. Even a Balaam might have said, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob! and thy tabernacles, O Israel!" Before such a host Charles recoiled, and negotiated with his accustomed perfidy.

These attempts and this resistance was the beginning of English and American liberty. The king could not carry out his measures without an army—nor have an army without treasure—nor impose taxes contrary to law any longer. It became necessary to summon a Parliament. On November 3d, 1640, met at his summons the Long Parliament, so famous in English history—so much reviled and ridiculed—but which, in spite of its minor errors in judgment, has laid so widely the foundations of British freedom.

Most of the early English Puritans were favorable to the Presbyterian form of Church government. But as the English Bishops under Elizabeth admitted the validity of Presbyterian ordination, and they themselves admitted the validity of ordination by Bishops, the greater part of them had remained in connection with the Church of England. Some of the more zealous Puritans had, however, secretly organized a Presbyterian church at Wandsworth, county of Surrey, on the Thames, about five miles from London, as early as 1572. On the 20th of November eleven elders were chosen, and their offices described in a book called "The Orders of Wandsworth." A Presbytery was also formed, consisting first of nine clerical

* Macaulay, i., 88.

members, who were afterward joined by six others, and to them were united a considerable number of influential laymen. The isles of Guernsey and Jersey had been a place of refuge for the French Huguenots, and they were allowed to use the Geneva or French Discipline. Cartwright, Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, who had been expelled the University and driven into exile for favoring Presbyterianism, became pastor in Guernsey, and drew up for them a Confession and Form of Discipline similar to that afterward adopted by the Westminster Assembly, which continued in force until the Act of Uniformity under Charles II. In 1586 there were said to be more than 500 ministers of the establishment, many of whom were accustomed to meet privately for mutual counsel, and this years before the Westminster Assembly was appointed.*

The Long Parliament, in June, 1643, passed an ordinance for "calling an assembly of godly and learned divines and others, to be consulted with by Parliament for settling the government and liturgy of the Church of England." Ten from the House of Lords, twenty from the House of Commons, and one hundred and twenty divines, were named in the ordinance as members. The Assembly met at Westminster, on the 1st of July, 1643; and the Scotch being invited to form a union with the English Parliament, and to send delegates to the Assembly of Divines, proposed the Solemn League and Covenant as the basis of their union with the English nation, and appointed commissioners to the Assembly. The Solemn League and Covenant was sworn to by the House of Commons, the Westminster Assembly, and the Scotch commissioners, on the 25th of September, and by the House of Lords on the 15th of October. The result of the deliberations of the Westminster Assembly is well known. The Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and Forms of Government by them elaborated, in 1,163 sessions by them held during a period of FIVE YEARS, SIX MONTHS, AND TWENTY-TWO DAYS, have become the standard of all the Presbyterian churches of Great Britain and America, except that in England, the Book of Discipline, under the opposition of Parliament, of Cromwell, and through the events which followed, failed of being carried out fully into practice.

While these things were maturing, the contest was going on between the king and the Parliament, until it was taken out

* Neal, i., 126; Price, History of Non-Conformity, i., 237; Bogue and Bennet, History of Dissenters.


of the hands of Parliament by the army they had called into existence, who arraigned the king for high treason and put him to death, January 30th, 1648. To accomplish this they excluded from assembling the majority of the House of Commons, shut up the House of Lords, and erected a revolutionary tribunal, before which the king was tried. The Westminster Confession, as to its doctrinal articles, was approved by both houses of Parliament; those articles, reduced into the form of the Longer and Shorter Catechisms, were also approved by Parliament. The Book of Discipline and Form of Government were adopted by the General Assembly and Parliament of Scotland, but the Parliament of England could not be brought to adopt the Presbyterian government as of *divine right*; they did indeed adopt it upon trial, to see how it would succeed, but insisted that an appeal should lie from the National Assembly to Parliament in the last resort; that appeal should lie from every *classis* or presbytery to commissioners of Parliament appointed in every province, and from these to Parliament itself; and that the National Assembly should only be legally constituted when summoned by Parliament. Against these things the Presbyterians loudly exclaimed as derogatory to the Supreme Headship of Christ over his Church. They contended vainly for an absolute uniformity of worship. But so far as those of England were concerned, they were obliged to yield to the power of Parliament, who would not be prevailed on to abate in one iota the limitations they had set to the power of Presbytery.*

Parliament did, however, on the 6th of June, 1646, adopt the Presbyterian government, to be used in the churches of England and Ireland, and give directions that it should be carried into execution. The ministers in the several counties were ordered to form themselves into distinct Presbyteries, and the Provincial Assembly or Synod of London was directed to be held on the 3d of May, 1647. This meeting was attended by 108 persons. The Province of London was divided into 12 Classes or Presbyteries, and to this Synod three ministers and six ruling elders were delegated from each classis. This Synod continued to meet yearly till 1655. The county of Lancaster was formed into another Presbyterial Province, and assembled at Preston, February 7th, 1648. None were formed by law in other parts of England, but in various counties the ministers entered

* See contrary to this, Hetherington, History of Westminster Ass., p. 234.

into voluntary associations, many of the Independents joining with them, and ordained ministers.*

The Scots had never consented to the death of the king, and as soon as it was known in Scotland, the Scotch Parliament proclaimed his son king, under the designation of Charles II. He accordingly landed in Scotland on the 16th of June, 1650, having previously subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant. Cromwell met the Scotch army at Dunbar, and routed it. The king resolved upon the desperate expedient of marching directly into England, but he was overtaken by Cromwell at Worcester, and defeated the year after, and after many hairbreadth escapes fled to the Court of France. The Protectorate of Cromwell continued for nine years longer, and under it England enjoyed a high degree of peace and prosperity. It expired in the person of his son, who was unable to control the elements around him, and had no taste for the turmoils of public life. A new Parliament under new auspices invited Charles II. back to his country, and his return was hailed with the utmost enthusiasm by the people. The Commons decreed that the Covenant should be burnt by the common hangman, that the Sacrament according to the forms of the Liturgy should be taken by every member on pain of expulsion; the old ecclesiastical policy was revived, the Liturgy restored, and Episcopal ordinations made indispensable to church preferment. The retaliation upon the clergy was bitter in the extreme. About 2,000 Presbyterian ministers were driven from their churches and deprived of their livings in one day by the Act of Uniformity, which was to take effect on St. Bartholomew's day, a time purposely chosen because their salaries would not be then quite due.† The five-mile act prevented their coming within five miles of the places of their former charges. The act against Conventicles made it a crime to attend their worship, and the punishments were imprisonment, fine, and banishment to the plantations—New England excepted, where they might find sympathy, and Virginia, where they might disturb the established church.

"The terms of conformity now were : 1. Reordination, if they had not been Episcopally ordained, which involved annunciation of Presbyterian orders. 2. A declaration ed

* Neal, ii., pp. 25, 43, 79.

† "St. Bartholomew's Day [August 24, 1662] was pitched upon, that if they were deprived, they should lose the profits of the whole year, since the tithes are commonly due at Michaelmas."—*Bp. Burnet*.

assent and consent to all and everything prescribed and contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, etc. 3. The oath of canonical obedience. 4. Abjuration of the Solemn League and Covenant. 5. Abjuration of the lawfulness of taking arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatever.* These conscientious men were the butts of ridicule on the stage, in the streets, and too often in the pulpit. "Here were many men," says Burnet, "much valued, some on better grounds, and others on worse, who were now cast out ignominiously, reduced to great poverty, provoked by much spiteful usage." Some sought an asylum in foreign countries; some became tutors in noble families; some turned their attention to medicine or law; a few having property retired to live upon it; the great majority suffered unspeakable hardships. One of the Conformists speaks of the great trials of his brethren who refused to conform, "by uncomfortable separations, dispersions, unsettlements, and removes; disgraces, reproaches, chargeable journeys, expenses in law, tedious sicknesses, incurable diseases, ending in death; great disquietments and affrights to their wives and families, and their doleful effects upon them. Though they were as frugal as possible, they could hardly live: some lived on little more than brown bread and water; many had but eight or ten pounds a year to support a family, so that a piece of flesh had not come to one of their tables in six weeks' time. One went to plough six days and preached on the Lord's day.†" Mr. Baxter, who was one of them, says: "Many hundreds of them, with their wives and children, had neither house nor bread. The people they left were not able to relieve them. Many, being afraid to lay down their ministry, preached to such as would hear them, in fields and private houses; till they were apprehended, and cast into jail, where many of them perished." Of their characters, when the names of Calamy, Bates, Owen, Howe, and Baxter are mentioned as examples, though illustrious ones, of the remainder of their persecuted brethren, there can be no doubt. Bishop Burnet testifies that "many of them were distinguished by the purity and zeal. They cast themselves upon the protection of God and the charity of their friends, which had a fair appearance of men that were ready to suffer persecution for their consciences. This begot esteem and raised compassion; whereas the old clergy, now much enriched, were as

* Conder, View of all Religions, § 30. † Conformist's Plea, part iv., p. 43.

much despised.”* Mr. Locke, who knew many of these noble confessors, says, “The Bartholomew’s day was fatal to our church and religion, in throwing out a very great number of worthy, learned, pious, and orthodox divines, who could not come up to several things in the act.” How many suffered under Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., has never been computed. Well-informed persons, living in those times, calculated that the Dissenters who suffered under Charles II. and James II. amounted to the number of 70,000 families ruined in England itself, of whom about 8,000 died in prison. Records of about 60,000 persons, who had suffered on account of religion, were collected by Mr. Jeremiah White, more than 5,000 of whom had died in prison, under Charles II. James II., hearing of the manuscript of Mr. White, offered to purchase it for 1,000 guineas, but he refused to part with it; and reflecting on the consequences of its publication, he afterward generously committed it to the flames, for which no doubt it was destined by James. This oppression contrasted vividly with the conduct of the reforming Parliament; for though they too sequestered the livings of many obnoxious or unworthy clergymen, they appointed one-fifth of their former income to keep them from starvation. Into Scotland the sword of persecution was also carried: the Duke of Argyle and the Rev. James Guthrie suffered death on the scaffold. Sharp was made Archbishop of St. Andrews. By the Act of Glasgow, passed by the Privy Council, 400 ministers were ejected from their livings, and in many instances their congregations “wept aloud, till their lamentations resembled the wild wailings of a city taken by storm.”† In 1664 the Court of High Commission, which, with the odious Star Chamber, had been swept away by the Long Parliament, was established in Scotland. This, through the espionage of the curates, obtained information respecting every true-hearted Presbyterian. Many were reduced to poverty by fines; some contracted fatal disease in protracted imprisonment; some were banished to distant and inhospitable parts of the country, and some sold into slavery.‡ John Neilson and Rev. Hugh McKail were in 1665 subjected to the torture of the boot, and afterward executed. The former was a gentleman of substance, the latter an eloquent and learned preacher, in the morning of life. In his last speech he breathed the spirit of the Christian martyr, and

* Life and Times, vol. ii., p. 315.

† Hetherington, p. 219.

‡ Wodrow, i., p. 390.

closed with these words, which have rung through Scotland ever since : " And now I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and turn my speech to thee, O Lord. And now I begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off. Farewell, father and mother, friends and relations ; farewell, the world and all delights ; farewell, meat and drink ; farewell, sun, moon, and stars. Welcome, God and Father ; welcome, sweet Jesus, the Mediator of the New Covenant ; welcome, blessed Spirit of Grace, and God of all consolation ; welcome, glory ; welcome, eternal life ; welcome, death. O Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit ; for thou hast redeemed my soul, Lord God of truth." *

CHAPTER III.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN IRELAND.

THE State of South Carolina received a larger Presbyterian population from Ireland than from Scotland, and in pursuance of our plan, we proceed to give a brief sketch of the establishment of the Presbyterian interest there. The reformation in the 16th century took but a feeble hold of the population of Ireland. Under the bloody Mary many of the people relapsed into popery ; and yet many persecuted Protestants of England fled to it for asylum, and eluded the vigilance of their persecutors. Toward the middle of the latter half of the century, in the year 1560, of nineteen prelates who had conformed to Popery under Mary, only two adhered to their profession. Still, under Elizabeth some important bishoprics remained unfilled, many churches went to decay, and there was a great want of learned and pious ministers. In 1590 the project of the University of Dublin, first proposed by Sir Henry Sydney, was revived ; its first fellows were two Presbyterian ministers ; its two professors, Travers and Alvey, were Nonconformists and Puritans.

On the accession of James I. to the English throne, he revived the project which had first been attempted by Elizabeth in 1559 and 1572, in the counties of Down and Antrim, of colonizing certain portions of it with a Protestant people. The gunpowder plot in England, and the cotemporaneous dis-

covery of certain Popish emissaries in Ireland, had determined James to discountenance the Roman Catholic worship. Several of the Northern nobles who had sworn fealty to him, resented his determination, and entered into a conspiracy against his government, applying to the courts of France and Spain to aid them. This plot being discovered, its promoters, the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, fled, and their estates were forfeited. A second insurrection, led on by O'Doherty, was suppressed; he was slain, and another large portion of the province reverted to the Crown. These territories James with great wisdom arranged to plant with English and Scotch colonists. The arable lands of nearly six entire counties, amounting to about 500,000 acres, were at his disposal, and the way was open to replace its scattered, miserable, and turbulent population with the adherents of a pure faith. The country was exceedingly desolate, and was covered with immense woods and marshes. Its towns and villages had been levelled to the ground, its herds and products swept away by the war; little remaining except the isolated castles of the English and the miserable huts of the impoverished natives, suffering under the evils of pestilence and famine. Sir Arthur Chichester, who had been made Lord Deputy, and was well qualified to superintend the undertaking, first had the forfeited lands of the six counties minutely surveyed, and then drew up the plan according to which they were to be occupied. They were then allotted to three classes of "Undertakers." These were, first, British undertakers; then Irish servitors of the crown, consisting of civil and military officers; then natives of Ireland. These lands were divided into lots of 2,000 and 1,000 acres.* The occupants of the largest portions stipulated to build within four years a castle and "bawn," i. e., a walled enclosure, usually with towers at the corners, and to plant on their estates 48 able men, eighteen years old and upward, of English and Scottish descent. Those who occupied the second class of lots were to build within two years a strong store or brick house and bawn; and those of the third, a bawn, and to plant on them a certain number of tenants. On the lands of the Irish servitors might be settled either natives of Ireland, Englishmen, or Scotchmen. Large tracts were also assigned to the corporation, and some of the trading companies of London, from which the town and county of Londonderry received its distinctive prefix. There were to be a convenient number

* See note, Reid's Pres. Ch. in Ireland, i., p. 90.

of parishes and churches in each county; towns were to be incorporated, markets established, and free schools instituted. The colonists, except perhaps the Irish, were to conform to the religion and laws of the realm. The escheated lands were thus disposed of to 104 English and Scottish undertakers, 56 servants, and 286 natives. From the proximity of the country to Scotland, the Scotch settlers greatly predominated; they were a hardier people, stood the climate better, had fewer inducements at home, and were more favored by the King. Besides Londonderry, Coleraine and Belfast were planted by the English, though the counties of Down and Antrim were settled by the Montgomeries and Hamiltons of Scotland, who brought over many Scotch gentlemen and farmers.

In the Confession drawn up by Dr. James Usher, then Professor of Divinity at Dublin, there was an evident attempt at a compromise between High Church Episcopacy and Nonconformity. Indeed, many of the Nonconformists, as well as Scotch Presbyterians, had already been invested with ecclesiastical dignities; the validity of Presbyterian ordination was acknowledged or clearly implied; no authority is claimed for enforcing ecclesiastical canons, no allusion made to the mode of consecrating the higher orders of the clergy. In the first third of the 17th century there came several noble ministers from Scotland, and some from England, whose preaching was greatly blessed to this people. From Scotland were Edward Brice, Glendinning, Blair, Cunningham, Hamilton, Welsh, Stewart, and Livingston: from England, Hubbard, Ridge, and Calv. These were godly, and the most of them able men. Some of them had met with persecution at home, and fled to Ireland for greater liberty in preaching the gospel. Welsh was a grandson of John Knox. Under the labors of these devoted ministers religion was greatly revived, and conversions were multiplied. "Preaching and praying," says Livingston, "were pleasant in those days." "And it was sweet and easy for people to come thirty or forty miles to the solemn communions which they had." These men, though following the Presbyterian order, were comprehended within the pale of the Established Church, enjoying its endowments and dignities. Archbishop Usher, the primate, was generous and friendly. The day of trouble was, however, near at hand. The spirit of Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, passed over to Ireland. Livingston and Blair were suspended. Livingston was eventually obliged to leave the country; and Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, being appointed royal deputy, and having re-

ceived instructions from Laud, the Presbyterians of Ulster began to look towards New England for an asylum, and despatched Livingston and William Wallace to select a place where a settlement might be effected. The commissioners proceeded, however, at this time, no further than England, and returned again to Ulster.

Under Wentworth the Irish Articles were superseded by the Articles of the Church of England. Several of the most influential ministers were silenced. The Presbyterian laity were now convinced that it was their duty to abandon their country, and the intended voyage to New England was hastened. They built a vessel called the *Eagle-Wing* of 150 tons burden, and set sail on the 9th of September, 1636, having on board 140 persons; among whom were Livingston, Blair, Hamilton, McLelland, ministers; John Stewart, Provost of Ayr; Capt. Andrew Agnew, Charles Campbell, John Sumervil, Hugh Brown, etc. They had sailed between three and four hundred leagues from Ireland when they encountered a terrific storm, which caused their return. A warrant for Blair and Livingston for preaching the gospel being out, they, with the other clergymen, took refuge in Scotland, and were settled as ministers of the Scotch Kirk. Their people from Ireland would often go over to attend their communions. Five hundred persons, chiefly from the county of Down, were known to go over on one occasion to receive the ordinance from the hands of Livingston, and on another occasion he baptized eight-and-twenty children brought by their parents for the purpose.

To prevent the Scots in Ulster from joining the Covenant, or in any way opposing Charles I. in his designs, Wentworth imposed upon them an oath, in which they should swear allegiance to him, promise never to rebel against him, nor protest against any of his commands; never to enter into any covenant or oath without his authority, and to abjure all oaths or covenants contrary to this. This oath, which was called "*The Black Oath*," from its direful consequences, many refused to take, and were imprisoned and fined; many left their property behind and fled to Scotland; some ladies were subjected to imprisonment for years. One Henry Stewart was fined £5,000, his wife £5,000, his two daughters £2,000 each, and a servant in the family £1,000, and were imprisoned in Dublin at their own charges till these exorbitant fines were paid. For these and other zealous acts Wentworth was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Earl of Strafford. He then conceived the project of removing the Scottish residents out of Ulster,

and sending them into banishment.* He was now at the summit of his power and grandeur. But the necessities of Charles induced him to summon the Long Parliament, and one of their early acts was the arraignment, trial, and condemnation of this unfortunate but guilty noble, who was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 12th of May, 1641, the perfidious Charles giving his royal assent to the deed.

The year 1641 was made memorable in Ireland by the rising of the original Irish population of the Romish Church for the purpose of cutting off the Protestants. The numbers slain in this bloody insurrection are variously estimated. O'Mahony, an Irish Jesuit, in a work published by him in 1645, says that his party had cut off 150,000 heretics in four years.† More than thirty ministers were murdered in a small part of Ulster alone, while many others died of famine and pestilence. Of these, the most were of the English Church, for the more influential Presbyterian ministers, and the principal part of their gentry, had fled to Scotland to escape the tyranny of the bishops, and were so preserved. Those who remained were at first spared, in obedience to the commission of Charles, who had set on this rebellion, and had to arm and provide for their defence; but the ordinances of religion were interrupted, and the Presbyterian Church was nearly obliterated during this civil strife. It was at this period that the siege of Derry took place, whose defence is still read with all the interest of a romance, verifying the proverb, "that truth is often stranger than fiction." To assist their brethren, the Scotch sent over an army to Ireland, and according to their custom each regiment was accompanied by its chaplain, who was an ordained minister of the gospel. These chaplains, with the concurrence of the general and colonels, erected sessions in each of the regiments. In the four regiments stationed at Carrickfergus, the ministers found themselves in a condition to hold a Presbytery, and accordingly one was constituted and held at that town on the 10th of June, 1642, which is the first Presbytery, regularly constituted, ever held in Ireland. Through the efforts of this Presbytery elderships were constituted in the several congregations, and petitions were sent for ministers to the General Assembly of Scotland. This Assembly appointed clergymen to go over and assist those connected with the army in organizing the Irish Presbyterian Church. Great success attended their labors; many Episcopal clergymen

* A. D. 1640—Reid, i.

† Quoted by Reid, i., p. 336.

came forward and joined the Presbytery; other chaplains came over with other regiments, and the Assembly sent over faithful ministers to labor successively for the term of three months each. Many of the army chaplains became permanently settled over congregations in Ireland.

After the "Solemn League and Covenant" had been entered into by the English Parliament, they requested the Scottish ministers to take steps that it be taken by all the officers, soldiers, and Protestants of their nation in Ireland. The ministers appointed by the Assembly to visit Ireland were directed to administer the Covenant, and it was taken, not only by the army, but very extensively through the province of Ulster. It not only promoted a strong feeling in favor of the Presbyterian cause, but was blessed, as it had been elsewhere, in the revival of true religion, so that the historian dates at this period the commencement of the SECOND REFORMATION with which that province has been favored.*

During the period of the Commonwealth the Presbyterians of Ireland maintained their loyalty to the king. They were among the first to protest against his trial, and to denounce his execution as murder, nor were they pleased with the Independents, nor the principles they avowed.† Especially did they censure their "endeavor to establish by law a universal toleration of all religions, which," say they, "is an avowed overturning of unity in religion, and so repugnant to the word of God."‡ It is only in America, and in complete separation from the State, that Presbyterians and others have learned the principle of toleration to all sects professing the Christian faith.

The Independents strove through a period of ten years to establish themselves in Ireland. While Cromwell was in Ireland, John Owen, the most distinguished divine of the Independents, was his chaplain, and preached for several months constantly in Dublin. So anxious was Cromwell for the establishment of Independent ministers, that he wrote to New England inviting ministers of the Congregational churches to

* Reid, ii., 44.

† The Presbytery of Belfast freely expressed their indignation at the measures of "the sectarian party" in England, which brought down upon them the indignation of Milton, whose reply was expressed with great acrimony; but these "blockish Presbyters of Clondeboy," these "unhallowed priestlings" of the "unchristian synagogue" at Belfast, as the indignant poet and republican called them, evinced their sincerity by enduring the consequences of their fidelity to the crown with exemplary fortitude.

‡ Presbytery of Ulster, in Reid, ii., p. 175.

come over and settle there.* At the Restoration the Independent congregations dispersed, and their ministers returned to England. The Presbyterian Church, notwithstanding these influences, steadily and rapidly increased. In 1653 she had but about a half-dozen ministers in the country; in 1660, at the accession of Charles II., she had 70 ministers, nearly 80 congregations, and a population of not far from 100,000 souls.†

Charles restored Episcopacy in Ireland and nominated bishops for the vacant sees. The Bishop of Down, Jeremy Taylor, in one day declared 36 churches occupied by Presbyterian ministers vacant, and in the Province of Ulster 61 ministers, nearly the whole in the province, were ejected from their benefices. Of the entire body of the clergy of this province only seven conformed to prelacy. They were the first ejected for nonconformity in the three kingdoms, the Nonconformists of England not being ejected till August, nor the Presbyterians of Scotland till October, 1662. In the year 1669, the year before the first settlement of South Carolina, Presbyteries were again established, and gradually began to resume all those functions which, in the dark times which preceded, had been suspended.‡

THE INDEPENDENTS.

Besides the Presbyterians, another branch of the English Nonconformists were found amongst the first settlers of South Carolina—the Independents or Congregationalists. Robert Browne, born 1550, is often represented as their founder. But

* Nicholls' State Papers—quoted in Reid, ii., pp. 229, 230.

† Ibid., 337.

‡ The various sects which have arisen in England and Scotland have been comprehended under the general names of Puritans, Nonconformists, and Dissenters. The first name they received because they aimed at a purer and simpler form of worship than that adopted in the Church of England. The name Nonconformist arose about the same time, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from their inability to comply with the conditions of the Act of Uniformity. The name Dissenter arose in the times of the Westminster Assembly, and was first used of those members of that body who maintained the views of the Independents, and dissented from that Presbyterian polity which it was proposed to establish by law. It is used of all those sects which differ from the religion which has been established by public law. In England, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, etc., are called Dissenters. In Scotland, all who differ from the Established Church of Scotland would in like manner be so termed. In the United States of America, since the Revolution, the name is inapplicable, since no one form, except for a season in New England, has been established by the State.

they claim for themselves an existence, at least in scattered congregations, as early as the reign of Mary, in 1555.*

The first separate congregation of Brownists was gathered in 1583.† This congregation was soon broken up, and Browne, with many of its members, fled to Holland, and reorganized at Middleburg; thence he retired to Scotland, and in the following year to England, conformed to the Established Church, and became immoral and dissolute. In 1583 two of his followers were hanged at St. Edmondsbury. In 1593 Henry Barrowe, a lawyer, and a man of genius and caustic wit, with John Greenwood, also a man of education, was hung at Tyburn, on the 6th of May, 1693, for the crime of nonconformity.

The name of Browne having become odious, the adherents of this faith preferred to be called Separatists, to indicate their separation from the Established Church. They were still, however, pursued with bitter persecution. John Penry, a graduate of Oxford, and a native of Wales, was hung on the 29th of May, 1593, having been condemned by the court of High Commission, and Archbishop Whitgift was the first to set his name to the warrant for his execution. Hume calls it a case of unparalleled atrocity. After this there were no more capital executions by ecclesiastical tyranny. Banishment, croppings, branding with hot irons, slitting of noses, stripes, imprisonment, and fines, were the punishments for heretical pravity and opposition to the liturgy and polity of the Episcopal hierarchy. The first church of the Separatists was organized in 1592, in the city of London. From this time onward they suffered great hardships from the hands of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The name Puritan was common to these men and those who adopted the Presbyterian discipline. Yet of the Puritans there were two classes. The *conformable Puritans*, who, though dissatisfied with the church as established by law, yet adhered to it, and those who would remain separated from it. Of these the Independents retained the name Separatists, and they regarded the Church of England as the "Mother of Harlots." In 1593 a law was passed requiring all who would not attend on some house of worship of the Established Church, to "abjure the realm and go into perpetual banishment," or "suffer death without benefit of clergy." Under this act the Separatists retired to Holland. Among them

* Punchard, Hist. of Congregationalism, p. 220.

† Ibid. 248. Neal, or 1586.

were Ainsworth, author of the Annotations;* Dr. William Ames, author of the Medulla; and John Robinson, from whose Latin Apology, in which he maintained that "every particular society is a complete church, and, as far as regards other churches, immediately and *independently* under Christ alone," the name *Independents* arose. A portion of Mr. Robinson's church at Leyden removed to America, and landed at Plymouth Rock, Dec. 11th, 1620, and laid the foundation of the Congregationalism of New England. Henry Jacob had returned to England about 1616, and organized in the city of London the first Independent Church in England, of which he was pastor till 1624, when he removed to Virginia, where he soon afterward died.† Of the members of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridge, and Sidrach Simpson were Independents. These were often called "The five dissenting Brethren." To these Baillie adds as Independents, Joseph Caryl, William Carter, John Philips, and Peter Sterry, naming nine, but saying there were "some ten or eleven." Neal adds Anthony Burgess and William Greenhill.‡ During the Commonwealth, Cromwell was favorable to the Independents, and indeed his policy encouraged a diversity of sects, and he seemed to dread the ascendancy of any one party in religion. The Independents of his day were influential men. Dr. John Owen, "the prince of theologians," was himself a host. In 1658 they saw fit to issue a declaration of their faith and order. About 200 elders and messengers, from above 100 churches, assembled at the Savoy, in London, with the approbation of Cromwell, and drew up the articles of their faith and doctrine. Drs. Owen and Goodwin, with Nye, Bridge, Caryl, and Greenhill, were the committee who brought in the articles, which, after a full discussion, were adopted as a declaration of the faith and order of the Congregational churches of England. The Cambridge platform of the New England churches had been adopted ten

* This distinguished scholar and divine was obliged, in his deep poverty, during his exile, to subsist on a few boiled roots, having but ninepence a week for his support.

† To escape the oppressions of their own government, many of the Puritans had already left the country, and more were preparing to do so. Eight ships were lying in the Thames for the reception of emigrants for New England. Among these were Lords Say and Brooke, John Hampden, John Pym, and Oliver Cromwell. These vessels were detained by the royal proclamation, and ordered to reland their passengers,—a measure of which Charles may afterward have repented.

‡ Baillie, vol. ii., p. 110; Neal, vol. i., p. 262, vol. ii., pp. 275, 360.

years earlier, in 1648. In both of these the Westminster Confession furnishes the statement of Christian doctrine. In discipline they differ from the Presbyterians in the two particulars which the name by which their system is known, "Congregational Independency," denotes—viz., that all the members share with its office-bearers in the rule and administration of the church, so that it must be performed in their presence and *by their authority*; and that each particular society of visible professors is a complete church, with full power to elect and ordain its officers; synods, presbyteries, and convocations, where they exist,—having no power of jurisdiction over them, though their churches may meet by their messengers in synods or councils, in cases of difficulty, to consider and advise for their mutual good.

BOOK SECOND.

A. D. 1663-1685.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

As we turn our attention to the permanent occupancy of our own State by a Christian population, among the earliest of whom were men of our own faith, we are forcibly reminded of the words of the 44th Psalm: "We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, what work thou didst in their days, in the times of old; How thou didst drive out the heathen with thy hand, and plantedst them; how thou didst afflict the people, and cast them out. For they got not the land in possession by their own sword, neither did their own arm save them; but thy right hand, and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance, because thou hadst a favor unto them."

After the attempt of Coligny, no efforts were made for the colonization of *South* Carolina for more than a hundred years. Sir Walter Raleigh, who had served under that great Huguenot leader in France, had obtained a patent from Queen Elizabeth, in 1584, creating him Lord Proprietor of an extensive

region of country on these shores. He fitted out two vessels, under the command of Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, which, sailing from England in 1584, landed in July on the shores of what is now *North Carolina*, on the island of Wococken, the southernmost island of Ocracock inlet, and took possession of the country in the name of Elizabeth. These adventurers carried back with them a glowing account of this new-discovered land, and were accompanied on their return by Maniteo and Wanchese, natives of America. The next year, 1585, Raleigh fitted out a second expedition of seven vessels and 108 colonists, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, and planted a colony on the island of Roanoke, with Ralph Lane as its governor. Being visited by Sir Francis Drake, with a fleet of 23 vessels, the disheartened colonists could be prevailed upon to remain no longer, and in June of the following year they embarked on board this fleet and returned to England. A few days after their departure a vessel arrived with all needed supplies, fitted out by the providence of Raleigh; and in a fortnight more three other vessels under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, who made a vain search for the colonists, and left behind him fifteen men to hold possession of the country for the Lord Proprietor and the English Crown. In the following year, with indomitable perseverance, determining to found an agricultural colony, he sent out families instead of individual colonists, provided for founding a city to bear his own name, and appointed John White governor of the colony. They found at the island of Roanoke only the bones of the miserable men whom Grenville had left, their empty houses and dismantled fort. The "city of Raleigh" was founded by them on the same spot. The colonists insisted that the governor should return with the vessel to England to secure to them re-enforcements and timely supplies. On the arrival of White, he found the public attention wholly occupied with the Spanish invasion. In the following year he was sent back with two vessels, one of which being taken and rifled by the enemy, both returned to England. Sir Walter Raleigh, having expended £40,000, or nearly \$200,000, in these efforts at colonization, found himself unable to proceed further, and made over his patent to a company of merchants and others.

It was not till 1590 that White was able to return to the colony, where he had left behind him a daughter and a grand-daughter, Virginia Dare, the first child born of English parents on the shores of America. He found the island of Roanoke an unin-

habited desert. It had been agreed, that if any misfortune should befall the colonists, and they be compelled to desert their settlement, they should leave behind the name of the place to which they had gone; and that if they were in distress, this should be indicated by a cross. The name Croatan was found cut in the bark of a tree, but without any signal of distress. Lawson, the earliest European traveller through this wilderness, expresses his belief that, despairing of relief from England, the colonists had amalgamated with the native tribes, and brings in confirmation of this a tradition of the Hatteras Indians, "that several of their ancestors were white people, and could talk in a book." "The truth of which," says he, "is confirmed by gray eyes being among these Indians, and no others." Raleigh did not throw off the responsibilities which he felt himself under to these unfortunate men. Purchas informs us that he had sent, at his own expense, in search of them, five several times previous to the year 1602.

In 1658-63, colonists from Virginia had settled upon the Chowan, in North Carolina, and this settlement was probably composed of dissenters from the Established Church. One of these was William Drummond, a native of Scotland, and probably a Presbyterian, afterward made governor of the colony. A colony from Massachusetts had also planted itself on Old Town Creek, on the south side of Cape Fear River, as early as 1660 or 1661. A general contribution was made through the settlement of Massachusetts for this infant colony in 1667.

New proprietors now obtained control, under whose auspices the permanent settlement of *South* Carolina was effected, although the distinction between North and South Carolina was not known till 1693, when the Santee was regarded as the dividing line. The present line upon the sea-coast was fixed by the royal order in 1738.

On the 24th of March, 1663, in the third year after the restoration of the royal government, and of his reign as king of Great Britain, Charles II. granted a charter to *Edward* Earl of Clarendon, *George* Duke of Albemarle, *William* Lord Craven, *John* Lord Berkley, *Anthony* Lord Ashley, *Sir George* Carteret, *Sir William* Berkley, and *Sir John* Colleton, to all the lands south of Virginia extending from 31° to 36° north latitude, and westward from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This country, which had been called by the Spaniards and French, Florida, and by the English, Southern Virginia, received the name Carolina, in honor of the king.

These noblemen were among the highest in office and the

most influential in the realm. Two of them, the Duke of Cumberland and Anthony Ashley Cooper, from whom Ashley and Cooper rivers are named, held office under Cromwell, but were prominent in the restoration of Charles.

This vast territory was granted to these noblemen as a reward for their services to the royal cause. Their object in seeking it was their own aggrandizement; yet the charter speaks of them as being prompted by "a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the Christian Faith, and the enlargement of the royal empire and dominions."

It does not appear that these proprietors used any direct efforts for the propagation of Christianity; but they certainly were governed not merely by a selfish policy, but showed a disposition to protect their colonists in the free enjoyment of their religious privileges, and in other respects to promote their prosperity. Soon after their charter was obtained they wrote to Sir William Berkley, one of the Lords Proprietors, then governor of Virginia, empowering him "to settle two governors," if he should see fit, over the emigrants who were already settled on the river Chowan, in North Carolina; the reason for which was, "because some persons that are for liberty of conscience may desire a governor of their own proposing, which those on the other side of the river may not so well like; and our desire being to encourage those people to plant abroad, and to stock well those parts with planters, incites us to comply always with all sorts of persons as far as we possibly can."* Previous to this they had received propositions from several gentlemen of Barbadoes, who wished to remove to Carolina. These they encouraged, and promised them "freedom and liberty of conscience, in all religious or spiritual things, and to be kept inviolable." A colony of English had also settled on the Cape Fear, where they arrived on the 29th of May, 1664, and founded a town, which they called Charlestown, about 20 or 30 miles from the mouth of the river. The gentlemen of Barbadoes sent out an exploring ship, called the Adventure, under Capt. Hilton, in August, 1663, who gave his name to Hilton Head, in the neighborhood of Beaufort, and seems to have explored that region with a view to the proposed settlement.† They determined, however, to settle on the Cape Fear; in pursuance of which determination a colony was conducted thither by Sir John Yeamans, and arrived in the autumn of 1665. In the following year this colony, created by

* August, 1663.

† See Hilton's Relation.

this two-fold emigration, is represented as consisting of about 800 persons, and to have erected good houses and good forts for their defence.*

On June 30th, 1665, a second charter was granted by the king, enlarging the territory southward to the 29th degree of north latitude, and providing "that no dissenter from the Established Church shall be in any way molested for any difference of opinion, so long as he behaves himself peacefully, any law or statute of England to the contrary notwithstanding." In 1669 the Fundamental Constitutions of South Carolina were drawn up by the celebrated John Locke, at the suggestion of the Earl of Shaftesbury; the first copy of which received the signature of the proprietors on the 21st of July of that year. These were intended to be the unalterable laws of the province. They were highly aristocratic in their character, establishing three orders of nobility, Barons, Cassiques, and Landgraves, each with large landed possessions. In these Constitutions, one article made the Church of England the established religion of Carolina, an article inserted, it is said, by one of the proprietors, against Mr. Locke's judgment.† In other respects they provided that "no man could become a freeman, or have any estate or habitation in Carolina, who did not believe in a God, and that he was to be publicly worshipped; but that Jews, Heathens and other dissenters from the purity of the Christian religion, were to be tolerated. Any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion might constitute a church, and should be protected in their worship. No person, however, over seventeen years of age, not a member of some church or religious profession, could claim the protection of law or hold any place of honor or profit."

These Constitutions breathe the liberal spirit of their framer, who was equally the friend of civil and religious liberty. And as this Constitution was a favorite with the Proprietors, it exhibits the singular spectacle of men who had a hand in enforcing a strict uniformity of faith in England, and yet granting, on principles of interest, and perhaps led on by their own honest convictions, the widest toleration of religion in their

* Brief Description of the Province of Carolina: London, 1666; Carroll's Collections, vol. ii.

† The copy of the Constitutions first drawn up and sent out with Governor Sayle was without the clause relating to the introduction of worship according to the Church of England. The original is in the Charleston Library, and thought by some to be in Locke's handwriting.—See Rivers, South Carolina, Appendix, p. 334.

own domain of Carolina. The Earl of Clarendon and his associates were using their influence to bring back the days of persecution at home. Owen had been displaced and driven into retirement, and pursued by the soldiers of Charles. Bunyan was in prison, and Baxter, though a friend of royalty, and espousing the Restoration, was suffering with other Nonconformist divines, with the approbation of a majority of these very men. Only Lord Ashley, afterward Earl of Shaftesbury, was found battling in the opposition in resistance to the Bill of Uniformity, and other measures directed against the Dissenters. It was by his advice that Charles published, in March, 1672, the celebrated declaration for suspending the execution of the penalties against the Nonconformists and Recusants, though in his views of toleration he did not go to the lengths of the philosopher Locke, who resided in the house of Shaftesbury, attached himself to his fortunes while living, and vindicated his memory after his death.* To these men are chiefly to be ascribed the liberal features of these fundamental laws, which for 40 years after their adoption were in force with the proprietors, though never received nor sanctioned by the colonists. Monk, too, could hardly have done otherwise than in his heart approve whatever of kindness they showed to the non-prelatical sects. He had befriended the Independents, had sided with the Presbyterians, and, aided by them, had restored the royal government to power.

The proprietors had now resolved on the establishment of a new colony in Carolina. A treaty between England and Spain, in 1667, had acknowledged the English title to its possessions in the New World, and Port Royal was fixed upon as the place of settlement. William Sayle was appointed governor of the proposed colony, and Joseph West commercial agent of the proprietors. Sayle had some experience in contending with the difficulties of planting new colonies. About twenty years before this he had conducted a colony to the Bahamas, composed in great part of Presbyterians who had emigrated from the Bermudas or Sommers Islands, the place of his own former residence.† The proprietary lords seemed to have planned

* Lord Ashley Cooper, the Earl of Shaftesbury, was one of the five ministers of Charles II. known as the "Cabal," a word made up of initials of the names, viz., Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. The word *Cabal*—the French *Cabale*—signifies a number of persons acting in concert, and is generally understood in a bad sense.

† Some few persons embarked with him from England, and "sailed to the Sommers Islands, where they took in Mr. Patrick Copeland, elder of that

this expedition with great wisdom and foresight. It sailed from England probably in January, 1670, in three vessels, with several hundred able-bodied men and necessary provisions, tools, and warlike stores. The fleet was to touch at Kinsale, in Ireland, to obtain 25 or 30 servants for the proprietors, who ordered that a plantation should be made, under the direction of Mr. West, in the vicinity of the settlement at Port Royal. The fleet was also to touch at Barbadoes, to procure suitable seeds and plants for the new colony.* It arrived at the Bermudas in February. They reached Port Royal on the 17th of March. Their continuance there must have been but short. The reasons are unknown which induced them to desert the location on which the heart of the proprietors was set. Nothing can be imagined as a reason for abandoning so favorable a location save a dread of interference from the Spaniards of Florida, or some hostile indications on the part of the native tribes. They had removed to the western bank of the Ashley River in April of the year of their departure from England, and landing "on the first highland," in a spot "convenient for tillage and pasturing," there commenced locating streets and lots, and erecting dwellings and a fortification. Their settlement was called by them Charles-Town. They seem to have been visited with sickness soon after their landing; and in the month of September of this year Gov. Sayle, being "weak in body," added a codicil to his will, drawn up by him at Bermuda the February before, and gave his

church, a godly man of near eighty years of age, and so many of the church there, as they were in the ship in all seventy persons." They were greatly disturbed by "one Capt. Butler," who "could not endure any ordinances of worship." In their attempt to relieve themselves of his factious disturbance by a removal from the island they first reached, their vessel was cast away, and they were reduced to the greatest straits, being forced to live upon such game and wild fruit as the island afforded. Sayle, with eight others, reached the shores of Virginia, and brought them relief from the church there; and finding them in this miserable plight, persuaded them to remove to Eleutheria; but when they saw his commission and articles, "they paused upon it (for the church were very orthodox and zealous for the truth), and would not resolve before they received advice from us. Whereupon," says John Winthrop, "letters were returned to them, dissuading them from joining with that people under those terms."—Hist. of N. Eng., by John Winthrop, Esq., first Gov. of the colony of Mass. Bay.

Sayle, according to Hewatt, had made a voyage of exploration in behalf of the Proprietors, in 1667. He had visited the Bahama Islands and sailed along the coast of Carolina. His representations to his employers induced them to apply to the King for a grant of the Bahamas, which was bestowed upon them by letters patent.—Hewatt, p. 48; Hist. Soc. Collections, vol. i.; Capt. John Smith's Hist. of N. England and the Sommers Islands.

* The expenses of the first colony amounted to £12,000.—Hewatt.

house at Albemarle Point* to his eldest son, Nathaniel, and soon after this died. Not only Gov. Sayle, but the majority of the first settlers, "were Protestant Dissenters from the Church of England."† Joseph West succeeded Sayle as governor of the colony. In August, 1671, the proprietors' ship, the *Blessing*, Capt. Matthias Halsted commanding, arrived, bringing several families from England, for whom a town was directed to be laid out on Stono Creek, westward of Charlestown.‡ In August Capt. Halsted sailed for New York, and returned in December with a company of emigrants from the Dutch settlement of New Belgium. A number of families arrived also in the *Phoenix* from the same province; and for the Dutch emigrants in these two vessels a town called James Town was laid out southwest of Ashley River, as we suppose on James Island, which was subsequently deserted by these emigrants, who spread themselves through the other settlements. The instructions which were sent out by Capt. Halsted gave information to the governor and council that Mr. James Carteret, Sir John Yeamans, and Mr. John Locke had been created Landgraves, and ordered that their baronies, of 12,000 acres each, should be set out where they might desire. Sir John Yeamans had left his colony on the Cape Fear, and had returned to Barbadoes. He joined the colony established by Sayle on the Ashley River, though not permanently, until he was appointed Governor by the proprietors, upon which office he entered on the 19th of April, 1672. He brought with him from Barbadoes the first negro slaves who were seen in Carolina. Many of the settlers whom he had planted on the banks of the Cape Fear followed him to this colony, so that the former colony was at last quite deserted, and relapsed again into a wilderness.§ Their habitations were the narrow and rude shelters which first settlers

* The point made by the confluence of the Ashley River and Wappoo Creek.

† Petition of Joseph Boone and other inhabitants of Carolina.—Rivers, Appendix, p. 462.

‡ The town was so laid out on a parcel of land containing twenty-five acres, whereof five acres were reserved for a churchyard. This town was probably the one called Newtown in the Order of Council of June 18th, 1672, providing that two "great gunns" be mounted there for its better defence.—Rivers, p. 100; Appendix, p. 379; see also p. 381.

§ Sir John Yeaman's entrance upon his new office was signalized by several important measures. The new Council then elected ordered the Surveyor General to lay out three colonies, or squares of 12,000 acres, one about Charles-Town, another at James-Town, and a third upon a place known as Oyster Point. The settlement of Charles-Town was now regularly laid out at this place in 62 town lots. The settlers having resigned the lots they had pre-

are always obliged to erect.* The necessities of the colonists required incessant labor and untiring vigilance. It was providential to them that the native tribes contiguous to their settlement had been thinned off by a desolating sickness previous to their arrival. But the Kussoes, by whom they were surrounded, in about a year after the settlement was commenced became more and more hostile, and threatened by the aid of the Spaniards to cut off the colonists. All arms were made ready for service, the men were practised diligently in their use, the store of powder was divided into three parts and located at the safest and most convenient points, a constant night-watch was kept up, at which all were to take their turns,—the people of the town twice “in every revolution of the watches,” and “those in the outward plantations” once. On any alarm, to be given by “two of the greatest gunns at Charles-Town, the entire inhabitants,”—except the negroes on the governor’s plantation, who were left to defend the same, “being an outward place,”—were to assemble at their appointed rendezvous; and on the appearance of any “top-sayle vessell” “one great gunn” was to be fired, upon which all the freemen of the colony were to appear in arms, and no person except the pilot was allowed to go on board the same. Previous to the entire completion of these arrangements, war had been proclaimed upon the Kussoes, and Indian prisoners were taken. Diligence and thrift were enforced upon the colonists. Governor Sayle had been instructed to summon the freeholders and require them, in the name of the proprietors, “to elect twenty persons,” who, together with the deputies of the proprietors, were to constitute his council or parliament. This parliament, elected under the proprietary regulations, constituted a popular assembly, who governed the little colony wisely and efficiently. In a season of scarcity, which occurred early in 1672, they ordained that no person should be supplied from the proprietors’ stores who should not have two acres well planted and cultivated for every member of his or her family; that no mechanic should exercise his trade in town till the gathering in of the next crop, except under the tolerance of the Grand Council; and that every loiterer, whether male or female, should be put under the care of some industrious

viously occupied, received others according to the new arrangement. The lots were 62 in number, and the distribution of them to the several freeholders may be found in Dalcho, p. 17.

* The houses of James-Town, the Dutch settlement, were to be “20 feet long and 15 feet broad at least.”—Rivers, p. 100.

planter, for the better raising of provisions and their present maintenance. Thus, almost like the ancient Jews when Jerusalem was to be rebuilt, they wrought with their weapons in one hand and their implements of labor in the other,—vigilant in their defence, yet industrious in their pursuits. The distinction of master and servant existed; but except in the case of Governor Yeamans, those called servants were white persons, laboring for a term of service for maintenance or wages, or both. What attention was paid to matters of religion we know not. The reservation of a site for a church in their little town-plats, showed that the church was not quite forgotten. The many sufferers for conscience' sake who had resorted to the new continent to escape oppression and persecution, would yet be mindful, in some measure, of their former faith. Their religious observances, however, may have been private and domestic rather than social, and their contest with the wild nature by which they were surrounded, their anxieties and many cares for the meat which perishes, may have led them proportionally to neglect that which endureth forever. The Fundamental Constitutions of Locke, which declared that "no man shall be permitted to be a freeman of Carolina, or to have any estate or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a God; and that God is publicly and solemnly to be worshipped;" and that "no person above seventeen years of age shall have the benefit or protection of the law, or be capable of any place of profit or honor, who is not a member of some church or profession, having his name recorded in some one, and but one, religious record at once," though unwise provisions, would seem to mark this colony out as one peculiarly religious. The Rev. Atkinson Williamson, of the Episcopal Church, was in the colony in 1680, and Rev. Thomas Barret, a Dissenter, and probably a Presbyterian, was living in South Carolina in 1685; and under these circumstances we can hardly believe that social and public worship was neglected. In the names of the first settlers we also find those who afterward contended for that liberty of conscience which the first constitutions promised. But besides this, there is nothing to assist us to interpret the characters of the colonists in this matter, which is so important. Sir John Yeamans himself was probably a zealous royalist, attached to the Episcopal Church, if any. His father was alderman of the city of Bristol, had been hung for his adherence to the royal cause in the days of the Parliament, and after the accession of Charles II. he had been rewarded

for the sufferings of his family with the title and rank of a baronet.* Col. West was created Landgrave and Governor in April, 1674. He is described as "a moderate, just, pious, and valiant person,"† and his administration was deservedly popular with the people and satisfactory to the proprietors.

The proprietors continued to invite settlers under the free toleration of their religious opinions. In 1672 certain persons in Ireland received overtures from them, in which they conceded to them the free exercise of their religion according to their own discipline.‡ A revised set of the Fundamental Laws were, however, sent out by the proprietors, and were received by Governor West in February, 1673. It proceeds to say, that "as the country comes to be sufficiently planted and distributed into fit divisions, it shall belong to the parliament to take care for the building of churches and the public maintenance of divines, to be employed in the exercise of religion according to the Church of England; which being the only true and orthodox, and the national religion of all the king's dominion, is so also of Carolina; and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive a public maintenance by grant of parliament." These new constitutions were exceedingly distasteful to the people. They had acceded to the first ones, and the parliament utterly refused to accept them in the place of those to which they had originally sworn. Two-thirds of the settlers were dissenters from the English Church, and could not brook the prominence which the proprietors sought to give it. Small parties of settlers were coming into the colony with almost every vessel, and the proprietors sought industriously to add to the number of immigrants. In June, 1676, 12,000 acres were promised to John Berkley, Simon Perkins, Anthony Laine, and John Pettit, on their arrival.

The time now arrived for the transfer of the principal settlement to the present site of the city of Charleston. When the new survey and distribution of lots in old Charles-Town was made, in 1672, Gov. Yeamans had a site for a new town marked off at Oyster Point, at the confluence of Ashley and Cooper rivers. Accordingly, Oyster Point Town was laid off between the present Broad, Water, and Meeting streets. These lots were very gradually taken up; but in 1679 the inhabitants on the west bank of the Ashley began to remove thither. In December of that year the proprietors informed

* Clarendon, History of the Rebellion, ii., p. 247.

† Archdale, Historical Collections of S. C., ii., p. 100.

‡ Rivers, App., p. 365.

Gov. West that they had appointed it to be the port town, and in 1680 the public offices were removed to the eastern side of the Ashley, and 30 houses were built there during that year. "At this town, in November, 1680," says Samuel Wilson, "there rode at one time sixteen sail of vessels, some of which were upward of two hundred tons, that came from various parts of the king's kingdom to trade there." Writing in 1682, he says, "about a hundred houses are there built, and more are building daily by the persons of all sorts that come there to inhabit from the more northern English colonies, the Sugar Islands, England, and Ireland; and many persons who went to Carolina servants, being industrious since they came out of their times with their masters, at whose charge they were transported, have gotten good stocks of cattle and servants of their own; have also built houses, and exercise their trades."* Thomas Ash, who was sent out in 1680 to inquire into the state of the country by his majesty Charles II., and who returned in 1682, says, "The town is regularly laid out into large and capacious streets. In it they have reserved convenient places for the building a church, town-house, and other public structures, an artillery ground for the exercise of their militia, and wharfs for the convenience of their trade and shipping. At our being, there was judged to be in the country 1000 or 1200 souls; but the great number of families from England, Ireland, Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the Caribees, which daily transport themselves thither, have more than doubled that number."† This town was at first called New Charles-Town, but since 1682 has been called Charlestown, and more lately Charleston. The site reserved for the Church of England was that now occupied by St. Michael's. The building erected there was built of black cypress on a brick foundation, and was commonly called the English Church, though its distinctive name was St. Philip's. Ramsay says it was built about 1690. Dalcho argues that it must have been erected in 1681 or 1682; Rivers, that it was probably begun in 1682. The reasons for this early date for the erection of St. Philip's given by Dr. Dalcho are—1, that it is unreasonable to suppose the Episcopalians should remain 20 years in Carolina without a church, which is supposed by Dr. Ramsay's date for the erection of St. Philip's; 2, that the

* Wilson's Account of Carolina, London, 1682, in Carol., ii., p. 24.

† Description of Carolina, by T. A[sh], Gent., London, 1672; Carroll's Collections, vol. ii., p. 82.

model of the town contained the site of the church; 3, that art. xvi. of the Fundamental Constitutions (2d set) provides for the maintenance of divines of the Church of England; 4, that Originall Jackson, and his wife Meliscent, executed a deed of gift, January 14th, 1680-1681, of four acres of land for a house of worship to be erected, in which Atkin Williamson, cleric, may perform worship according to the form and liturgy of the Church of England. This land is not described as being in Charlestown. Jackson owned land on the Cooper River, August 3d, 1672. Yet there was no settlement large enough to afford a congregation out of Charleston in 1680. Nor is there any record of any Episcopal church out of town before 1703. These, with the knowledge that Rev. Atkin Williamson was in the colony in 1680, render it probable, though not by any means certain, that St. Philip's may have had the early date which is thus claimed for it.

During the years immediately preceding these dates, we begin to recognize more and more distinctly the accession of French Protestants. In the re-distribution of lots in Old Charlestown, July 22d, 1672, Richard Batin, Jacques Jours, and Richard Deyos received town lots with other freeholders. In 1677 grants were made to Jean Batton; in 1678 to Jean Bazant and Richard Gaillard; to John Monke in 1682; and in 1683 to Marie Batton, wife of Jean Batton (*ci-devant* Mary Fosteen). In 1679 the petition of Renè Petit, for transporting French Protestant families to Carolina, came before the Committee of Trade and Plantations, in the Council Chamber at Whitehall; and on the 29th of October the petition was granted, and his majesty Charles II. gave orders for fitting out two suitable ships for their conveyance. One of these vessels was the frigate Richmond, which arrived in 1680, bringing out forty-five French refugees. Charles himself bore the expense of their transportation. A more considerable number soon followed in another vessel, also at the expense of government. It was expected that these French colonists would be very serviceable to the province by introducing the manufacture of silk and the culture of the olive and vine. This expectation was not realized. The eggs of the silkworm hatched at sea, and the worms perished for want of food; and the other branches of industry sought to be promoted by them did not thrive.

Some regard was had to public morality and virtue. Toward the close of Governor West's administration, May, 1682, acts were passed for the observance of the Lord's Day, and

for the suppression of idleness, drunkenness, and profanity.* West was superseded in his office by Landgrave Joseph Morton, who, with Landgrave Axtell, according to Archdale, had procured the arrival in Carolina of more than 500 persons within the space of one month.† The proprietors continued to exert themselves to invite immigrants into their colony. At the desire of several wealthy persons wishing to remove thither, they “once more” revised the unalterable constitutions, relaxing them anew in favor of freedom.‡ “Many Dissenters went over, men of estates, as also many whom the variety of fortune had engaged to seek their fortunes, in hopes of better success in this new world. And truly such as better improved their new stock of wit generally had no cause to repent of their transplantation into this fertile and pleasant land.”§ Under the administration of Governor Moreton, Joseph Blake, brother to the celebrated Admiral Blake, came into the province. He arrived in 1683, and “being a wise and prudent person, of a heroic temper of spirit, strengthened the hands of sober-inclined people, and kept under the first loose and extravagant spirit.”|| Many Dissenters came with him. About this time “the persecution raised by the Popish faction and their adherents in England was at its height, and no part of this kingdom suffered more by it than Somersetshire. The author of this history (Oldmixon) lived at that time with Mr. Blake, brother to the famous general of that name, being educated by his son-in-law, who taught school in Bridgewater, and remembers, though then very young, the reasons old Mr. Blake used to give for leaving England: one of which was that the miseries they endured, meaning the Dissenters, there, were nothing to what he foresaw would attend the reign of a Popish successor; wherefore he resolved to remove to Carolina: and he had so great an interest among persons of his principles, I mean Dissenters, that many honest and substantial persons engaged to go over with him. I must prevent all

* Rivers, p. 130.

† Quoted by Rivers, p. 131. “Under Governor Morton, by order of the proprietors, the province, so far as inhabited, was divided into three counties—Craven county, to the north of the Sewee river; Berkley county, between this and Stono Creek, embracing Charles-Town; and Colleton, south of Stono Creek; of this, London (Wiltown) was to be the county seat, or place of election. It contained Port Royal and the lands in its vicinity for the distance of thirty miles.”—Oldmixon, *Hist. Coll.*, p. 316.

‡ Chalmers’ *Political Annals of Carolina*, p. 315.

§ Archdale, *ibid.*, p. 100.

|| Archdale, p., 101.

prejudice to what I have said, by declaring that this book is written by one who is not himself a Dissenter, but verily believes the true Church of England is the most orthodox and pure church in the world." "I say the more of Mr. Blake," adds the historian, "because his family is the most considerable in this province. What estate he had in England he sold, to carry the effects along with him; and though the sum was not many thousands, if it did at all deserve the plural number, yet 'twas all that his great brother left him, though for several years he commanded the British fleet, and in a time when our naval arms were victorious and the treasures of New Spain seldom reached home. By Mr. Blake's presence in Carolina the sober party began to take heart, and the other to be discouraged in their irregular courses." "The governor, as we are told, married Elizabeth Blake, his daughter, and by this alliance the strength of their party was so increased that we hear little of the other till Mr. Colleton's government."* Who this opposite party were, may be conjectured in part by Archdale's description—"ill livers of pretended churchmen;"† and in part by Oldmixon's—"The two factions were that of the proprietaries and that of the planters, like court and country party in England."‡ The Blakes were of the English Presbyterians of Somersetshire. His brother was returned by the Presbyterians as a member from Bridgewater of the Short Parliament, in 1640. He sat in the first two parliaments summoned by Cromwell; was the antagonist of the Dutch Admiral Van Tromp, and commanded the British fleet in the most brilliant period of her naval history; was a blunt old man, of ready humor, fearless in the expression of his opinions; a stanch republican; of a singularly fearless temper; straightforward, upright, and honest in an unusual degree; never seeking his own advancement. In his temper he was liberal, and to his sailors ever kind. He was the first man who taught English ships to despise castles on shore; who first infused proper courage into seamen, by teaching them what mighty things they could do when resolved; that they could fight in fire as well as upon water; and though he was very well followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage and bold and resolute achievement.§ His remains, with those of Cromwell's mother and daughter, and others,

* Oldmixon's Annals in Carroll's Collections, vol. ii., pp. 407, 408.

† Collections, ii., p. 100. ‡ Ibid., p. 406. § Clarendon, iii., p. 602.

buried in Westminster Abbey, had, in paltry and impotent revenge, been exhumed, and cast into a pit in St. Margaret's churchyard. In these high qualities his less illustrious brother shared. He was willing enough to escape from a sovereign who had shown himself a perfidious tyrant, and from a country where freedom to worship God was denied him. He was a Presbyterian of the English stamp, sincere in his religious convictions without bigotry. His wife* is found afterwards contributing liberally to the adornment of St. Philip's church, and he, as governor, favoring the interests of the same. Moreton was succeeded in the gubernatorial office by Sir Richard Kyrle, of Ireland, who was appointed in April, 1684. Much was expected from his energy and ability, but he died within a few months.†

About this time the colonists were re-enforced by an emigration from Ireland, under the guidance of Ferguson (who was, it is supposed, of Presbyterian predilections), which mingled at once with the mass of the inhabitants.‡ In this same year the state of the Presbyterians in the counties of Derry and Donegal is represented as being "so deplorable, that the greater number of the ministers of the Presbytery of Lagan intimated to the other Presbyteries their intention of removing to America, whither some of them had been already invited, 'because of the persecutions and general poverty abounding in those parts, and on account of their straits and little or no access to their ministry,'"—a determination which seems to have been prevented by the death of Charles II. in the following year, and a change in the administration of affairs. Four of the ministers had been imprisoned for eight months for keeping a fast, on account of the distressed state of the Church, and refusing to take the oath of supremacy. It was in this season of trouble that Francis Mackemie must have emigrated to America. He was introduced to the Presbytery of Lagan in 1681 by his pastor, the Rev. Thomas Drummond, of Rathmelton, in Donegal county, believed to be the brother of William Drummond, first governor of North Carolina, a Presbyterian and valiant supporter of the maintenance of popular liberty, who was put to an ignominious death by Sir William Berkley, royal governor of Virginia, and one of the

* In the History of the Charleston Baptist Association, by Wood Furman, A.M., Charleston, 1811, it is said, "She and her mother, Lady Axtell, were members of the Baptist Church."—Dalcho, p. 26; Oldmixon, p. 417.

† Oldmixon, 410.

‡ Chalmers' Annals, p. 315.

original proprietors of Carolina. On an application from Col. Stevens of Maryland, beside Virginia, "for a minister to settle in that colony, he had been ordained; but in what year is not known, as the minutes of that Presbytery are defective, its clerk having been seized and cast into prison, and its meetings suspended for some years." In a letter to Increase Mather, of Boston, written from Elizabeth River, Virginia, July 22d, 1684, he speaks of his "design for Ashley River, South Carolina," that he went to sea in the month of May for the purpose of carrying it out, that "after several essays to the south," being tossed by contrary winds and falling short of provisions, he was prevailed upon by Col. Lawson and others "to stay this season" at Lynnhaven, especially considering "the season of the year, and the little encouragement from Carolina." For the satisfaction of his friends in Ireland, he had sent one of their number to obtain further information respecting the place. In a letter of the date of July 28th, 1685, he again speaks of Ashley River, and says, "I have also wrote to Mr. Thomas Barret, a minister who lived in South Carolina, who, when he wrote to me from Ashley River, was to take shipping for New England." From this evidence it appears that serious thoughts had been entertained by Mackemie of settling at Charles-Town. Webster says, "he visited Carolina in the fall of 1683." In his determination to settle elsewhere, the new colony of South Carolina lost the services of one of the most active ministers of the Presbyterian Church, one who by Reid is said, though not with entire truth, to be the first Presbyterian minister who settled in North America,* and one who, more than any other, has been regarded its founder.† Of Rev. Thomas Barret, living on Ashley River, at and before 1685, we have no further knowledge.

* Mackemie speaks of a Dissenting minister from Ireland, as having preceded him, and as being removed by death, at Lynnhaven Town, Norfolk county, Virginia.—Letter to Increase Mather, Mass. Hist. Soc., and Webster's Hist. of Pres. Ch., p. 207.

† Reid's Irish Pres. Ch., vol. ii., pp. 419, 424, 425, London, 1837.

CHAPTER II.

THE COLONY OF LORD CARDROSS.

THE next colony was conducted into Carolina by Henry, Lord Cardross. He was descended from the Lords Erskine and the Earls of Mar, and Lady Erskine was daughter of Sir James Stuart. He had been in many ways a sufferer for resistance to oppression. His house had been entered by armed guards, and the private chaplain* of Lady Cardross seized and put to death. He had been mulcted in heavy fines, had been imprisoned for non-conformity to Episcopacy and his maintenance of the Kirk of Scotland, under Lauderdale; and for non-payment of his fines he was outlawed, and his life-rents were escheated and given to his oppressor. His dwelling had been rifled, his estate had been wasted by the King's army when it lay at Stirling, his house had been garrisoned for eight years by the English soldiers, by which the dwelling and gardens were quite destroyed.† He determined, therefore, to seek freedom of conscience in America. Nor was he alone in this. A company of noblemen and gentlemen had entered into bonds with each other for making a settlement in Carolina. The subscribers were thirty-six in number. Among them were the names of Callender, Cardross, Yester, Hume of Polwart, Cockburn, Douglas, Lockhart, Gilmour, &c. Sir John Cochrane, of Ochiltree, and Sir George Campbell, had applied, towards the close of 1682, to the King for his encouragement and protection in this scheme. The same commissioners had secured from the lords proprietors a county consisting of thirty-two plats of twelve thousand acres each.‡ The Fundamental Constitutions had been altered to secure to the Scots greater immunity from oppression; the Indian title was to be extinguished by the proprietors by treaty and purchase. The place of settlement was to be the spot to which the first colony was despatched—Port Royal, the fame of whose harbor and the desirableness of whose situation had been so greatly extolled. This colony was to be independent of

* Rev. John King.

† Petition to the king in 1680.—Wodrow, iii., p. 192.

‡ Wodrow, iii., pp. 368, 369; Collections of Historical Soc. of S. C., i., pp. 92, 93, 109.

the one at Charleston, and Cardross understood himself to have co-ordinate jurisdiction with the governor there. He landed in 1683, and founded Stuart's Town, probably so called after the family of Lady Cardross.* Among those who came with him was Rev. William Dunlop. He was the eldest son of Rev. Alexander Dunlop of Paisley, and early devoted himself to the ministry. He entered upon it as a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, at the stormiest period of its history. He belonged to the moderate party of the maintainers of the Covenant, the Whigs, whose principles were engrafted on the English constitution in 1688. His party reluctantly resorted to the sword in defence of the rights of conscience, yet they did so in connection with fierce republicans at the ill-starred battle of Bothwell Bridge. He was at that time tutor in the family of Lord Cochrane, and in connection with Rev. Robert Wylie, drew up the declaration which it was hoped would be adopted by the army. He conveyed it in person to the camp. In the form in which it was presented it was rejected, and another similar but more objectionable paper was drawn up on its basis. Had the original paper been adopted, Wodrow contends that the rising at Bothwell might have been defended on the same ground as the revolution of 1688. Even at this early age he had that shrewdness and activity of mind which gave him an influence with his party far beyond what his years would otherwise have justified. This influence had been much increased by his marriage with Sarah, sister of Principal Carstairs, a name dear to Scotland, and honored in his own day throughout Britain for his shining piety, his universal and polite learning, and his candor and integrity, all of which qualities were insufficient to save him from imprisonment and cruel torture.† During his whole residence in America, Dunlop continued to be deeply interested in the affairs of Scotland, but was an extremely useful

* She was daughter of Sir James Stuart.—Wodrow, iii., p. 193.

† Carstairs was a Presbyterian clergyman who fled from Scotland under Charles II. He was taken prisoner in England, and upon suspicion of being concerned in the intended insurrection, for which Lord Russel and Algernon Sydney suffered, was sent to Scotland and put under the torture of the thumb-screw to extort confessions. There is a letter to Mrs. Dunlop, his sister, written from Leyden, March 14th, 1687 (whither he had retired after his release from prison), in which he refers to her contemplated voyage to Carolina; but she had already gone there. This and various other letters to his wife, written from his prison, breathe an excellent spirit, and may be found in the appendix to Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland. He returned from Holland with William of Orange, was with him in all his

member of the infant colony at Port Royal, not only performing the functions of his sacred office, but acting as a major of militia, and promoting in various ways the prosperity and security of the place of his refuge.

It had been expected that some 10,000 emigrants would have been sent from Scotland to this colony of Port Royal, for the persecution consequent upon the rising of the west country, the skirmish at Drumclog, and the battle of Bothwell Bridge, was raging fearfully. But most writers speak of the number who came out with Lord Cardross as being small. About 10 families, says Rivers, among whose names were those of Hamilton, Montgomerie, and Dunlop, accompanied him. But Wodrow, a most veracious and exact historian, speaks of many others. Numbers were condemned by the Royal Commission at Glasgow—"a set," says Wodrow, "of the most violent persecutors of that time." The grounds of condemnation were large: if they would not condemn the rising at Bothwell; if any had attended conventicles or baptizings in the field; if, though *they* had attended at the prelatical churches, their wives had gone elsewhere. This last ground of condemnation had been referred to the king. "The king," says Bishop Burnet, "determined against the ladies; which was thought very indecent: for in dubious cases the nobleness of a prince's temper should always turn him to the merciful side. This was the less expected from the king, who had all his life expressed as great a neglect of women's consciences, as esteem for their persons."* The council banished many to the plantations. The privy council, May 27th, 1684, orders the commissions of Glasgow and Dumfries, "to sentence and banish to the plantations in America such rebels as appear penitent, in the ship belonging to Walter Gibson, merchant, in Glasgow." "It is a knack peculiar, I think, to this period," says Wodrow, "to pretend kindness and grace in the greatest severities inflicted by them: thus last year and this, the taking the test was pretended to be a favor, and yet the country was forced into it, and now banishment to the plantations is another act of grace and favor to penitents,

campaigns, and had his entire confidence. In 1704 he became Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and Professor of Divinity. He was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1708, 1711, and 1715, on the 2d of December of which year he died. There is also a very interesting letter of Mrs. Dunlop, dated Edinburgh, September 2d, 1686, directed to her husband "at Port Royall, Carolina," written previous to her voyage.—Wodrow, vol. iv., pp. 516-520.

* Hist. of his own Times, ii., pp. 994, 995. London, 1725.

much the same with the *coup de grâce* in France." "June 19th, Sir William Paterson, who had been west, upon the conventicles," reports to the council that two-and-twenty persons, prisoners in the Tolbooth of Glasgow, are now banished to the plantations in William Gibson's ship. And at the same diet at Edinburgh, the Lords, by sentence, appoint James McCachin in Dalry, John Creighton in Kirkpatrick, John Matthison in Closeburn, John McChisholm in Spittle, libelled for reset, and converse with rebels, found guilty by their confession judicially adhered to, to be transported to the plantations. And August 15th, about fifteen more are ordered to the same place." John Dick was banished to Carolina in June. "Some of his interrogatories and answers," says Wodrow, "deserve room here, he being a very sensible, knowing person." "Being asked if it was lawful to bear arms, answered, he thought it lawful for the defence of religion,—that is, when people are oppressed for adhering to their principles, pressed to deny them, and killed for not denying them,—and for personal defence against robbers and murderers. He was further asked, 'But what if the king should carry on a course contrary to the word of God, may he be opposed by arms?' The bishop or professor of divinity, he does not mind which, said, 'But I'll make it plain to you, from the word of God, that though the king carry on a course contrary to scripture, he ought not to be opposed.' John interrupting him, said, 'The world will never do that, for it is setting scripture against itself, and the like of it was never heard.' Then he was asked if he would kill one of the king's guards if he found them in the way. He answered he was of no such murdering principles. They were very close upon him as to his praying for the king: and after many questions this way, they asked, 'Can you now pray for him?' He said, 'I can, as he hath a soul, and hath not sinned the unpardonable sin; but to pray for him as he is king, and for the prosperity of his courses, I cannot do.'" "The original testimony of about two-and-twenty, who were banished to Carolina," says Wodrow, "is before me. They received their indictment, as they say in their paper, for not owning the king's supremacy (and indeed it was that, most of the country people meant, when they refused to own his authority), their declining to call Bothwell Bridge rebellion, and refusing to renounce the covenants. The names of the persons signing this joint testimony are James McClintock, John Buchanan, William Inglis, Gavin Black, Adam Allan, John Galt, Thomas Marshal, William Smith, Robert Urie, Thomas

Brice, John Syme, Hugh Syme, William Syme, John Alexander, John Marshal, Matthew Mackan, John Paton, John Gibson, John Young; Arthur Cunningham, George Smith, and John Dowart.”*

Wodrow supposes that it was in the same ship in which these persecuted men came out that Rev. Mr. William Dunlop, “whom,” says he, “I can never name without the greatest regard to his memory, transported himself, and voluntarily withdrew from the iniquity of this time. And, if I mistake not,” he adds, “the excellent and truly noble Lord Cardross left his native country at the same time.” Sad and extremely uncomfortable was their passage to these shores.

“Captain James Gibson commanded the vessel, and is represented to have been very rude to the poor prisoners, who were about thirty-two in number. And his seamen and under-officers were yet harsher. Any small money their friends had scraped together for them before they sailed was taken from them, and they could have no redress. They were disturbed when at worship under deck and threatened; whenever they began to sing psalms the hatches were closed upon them. They had their water given to them in very scanty measure; one man was allowed only a mutchkin in twenty-four hours. And when there happened to be a mutchkin or less over, it was carefully distributed among them all, or they would parcel it out by spoonfuls to such as were most necessitous. All this was really from ill-nature, for there was no strait. When they came ashore in Carolina, they had fourteen hogsheads of water to cast out, besides a good number of hogsheads of beer remaining. At the beginning of their voyage, every eight of them had a Scots pint of pottage allowed them, and a little beer; their only other food was salt beef, with a few peas, three or four years old, sodden in salt water; this they had literally by weight, two ounces and a half to every two of them, with a biscuit, which was old enough. Their bread was indeed so ill that they could not eat it, but bartered it with the seamen for the rain water they gathered. The sick were miserably treated, and had no other thing allowed them but what the rest had. Some of the prisoners, who were sick, desired to be put ashore at Bermudas, offering all security to Captain Gibson, if they recovered, to come to Carolina. At first the captain promised, but, when he found so many sick, altered his mind. The very ship’s crew were like to mutiny for want of water; and John Alexander died of thirst, as was thought. When

* Two of them, John Buchanan and Arthur Cunningham, add to their names a confession, “that they had fainted in giving consent to their own banishment.” This is explained thus: “Most of them had been picked up in searches and otherwise, in Glasgow, Eastwood, Eaglesham, and other places round about, and had continued in prison some months.” Walter Gibson and his brother were sending off a vessel to Carolina, and had promised that if they would go with them, they would get their lives spared, and if not, they assured them they would be publicly executed. In this way these suffering and harassed men consented to their own expatriation. But afterwards, when it was represented by some as a confession of their own guilt, and as having a share in their own banishment, they acknowledged it as a step of fainting, and entered their confession as they affix their signatures to their testimony.

they landed in Carolina, all the prisoners almost were sick ; they were taken out and put into houses under guard. Some cloth and other things, given by their friends in Scotland, to be sold at the best advantage and distributed among them in Carolina, was otherwise disposed of, and they had none of it. John Dick, formerly mentioned, having paid his freight to thirty shillings, though he offered his bond for it, and a comrade of his offered to serve in his room till that remainder of his freight was paid, yet the captain would in no wise yield to it, but forced him up the country with him as his servant, where he died. His case differed from the rest of the prisoners, because of the contract he had entered into with the captain, but no faith was kept to him. Two of the prisoners, John Smith and John Paton, offering to make their escape, were discovered, and most barbarously used, being beaten eight times every day, and condemned to perpetual servitude."

"My account of banishments this year," says Wodrow, "shall be ended with an instance of severity great enough. When these prisoners were lying ready to sail from Clyde, Elizabeth Linning, yet alive, attesting this account, came down to visit the prisoners, some of them being her relations ; when she came aboard, Captain Gibson ordered her to be kept and taken with them, though he had nothing to charge her with ; she, perceiving this, took an opportunity, when those who were watching her were asleep, to get ashore. She was soon missed, and the captain ordered most of the crew ashore in search of her ; they found her, and brought her back, and carried her to Carolina with them. After they arrived there, and the prisoners were set ashore, she fell indisposed. One day she heard the captain say, when he did not know she was in hearing, 'Since she is sickly, let her go ashore, but see that she come aboard every night till we get her sold.' Upon this she took the first opportunity to get ashore, and went straight to the governor, and acquainted him how she was forced to that place, and what she had heard. The governor was very civil, and caused cite the captain to the next court-day, where he appearing, was interrogate if he brought the girl from Scotland without sentence or consent ; the captain owned he had, and trumped up a story, which she utterly refuted, that she had come with letters to the prisoners, and means were essaying to procure their escape, though he had given bond to the Council of Scotland for two-and-thirty of them at a thousand merks apiece. To this he answered nothing, but that he had an order from Lieutenant-Colonel Windram to keep her, for she was such a rebel as ought not to be permitted to stay in the nation. The governor desired him to produce this order ; the other answered that he had it only by word of mouth ; whereupon the court ordered her liberation, and allowed her the following extract :—'At a Council held at Charleston, October 17th, 1684, upon the reading of the petition of Elizabeth Linning against Captain James Gibson, commander of the Carolina merchant, in a full council, it was ordered as follows—Whereas, upon the confession of Captain Gibson, that the within written Elizabeth Linning was, without the consent of the said Elizabeth, brought to this province by force and by a pretended order from Lieutenant-Colonel Windram, but the said Gibson producing none, it was ordered that the said Elizabeth be set at liberty as a free woman.'

"In short, most of the prisoners died in Carolina, and scarce a half-dozen of them ever returned to their native land ; and a great many years after, the commander of the ship they were in perished in the American seas, after a most unfortunate voyage. Many others were banished this and the following year, of whom I shall be scarce able to give any account."*

* See Wodrow, *Hist. of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, vol. iii., pp. 96, 192, 193, 194, 368, 369 ; iv., pp. 8, 9, 10, 101, 521.

We have given these extended extracts because they bring before us a vivid picture of those persecutions which our Scotch ancestors endured, and of the reasons which led many of them to seek a home on these, at that time, uncultivated shores, where to contend with the murderous savage, the wild beast, and an unhealthy clime, was less dreadful than to meet with the opposition of their own countrymen, whom a different creed made more bitter and terrible enemies. That these persecuted men were with Mr. Dunlop and Lord Cardross at Port Royal, the letter of Mrs. Dunlop from Edinburgh to her husband in America, September 2d, 1686, preserved in Wodrow, sufficiently shows.*

It would have been supposed that this settlement on their southern border would have been hailed with joy by the English colony at Charleston, but they were regarded with a narrow jealousy and treated with rudeness. The Grand Council at Charles-Town claimed jurisdiction over the territory granted to the Scots, and did not hesitate to exercise it even over those to whom Lord Cardross had given land as settlers within their county. This and other matters of importance induced Lord Cardross to expostulate with the governor and council,† and to bring to their recollection that both communities were under the same king and the same lords proprietors; that it would not be the true interest of either to allow jealousies to arise when they were already threatened by their Spanish neighbors. He brings to their notice that two noted Indians, Wina and Antonio, were instigating the Indians around them to hostilities among themselves and against their settlement, and were entertaining a Spanish Indian believed to be a spy from St. Augustine or St. Mary's. He desires them to deliver up to the bearer, Wm. Dunlop, the six guns lying at Charles-Town, and directed by the proprietors to be given to them. The letter is signed by Cardross, William Dunlop, Hamilton, and Montgomerie. But their overtures were met with a rude repulse; the Grand Council persist in their complaints, and summon Lord Cardross before them as if to answer for some high misdemeanor, and construe his failure to appear before them as a contempt, though he was prostrated with fever and

* "John Simes' wife hath written to himself."—Wodrow, Appendix, vol. iv., p. 520. John Simes was one of the emigrants who came out in Captain Gibson's ship.

† See his letter from "Stuart's Towne, on Port Royall, ye 25 March, 1684."—Appendix, Rivers' S. C., p. 407.

overcome by the heats of a climate to which he was unaccustomed.*

Robert Quarry, to whom this letter of Lord Cardross was addressed, was provisional governor but for a short time. West was again governor from September, 1684, to September, 1685, when he was succeeded by Moreton.

Fifteen years have now passed since the first permanent settlement of Europeans was made within the bounds of South Carolina. A population of about 2500 persons have been transferred from the shores of the old continent and have established themselves here. A portion of them are of the Established Church of England, to which a majority of the proprietors belonged. The large majority from the beginning have been dissenters from that church.† They have come from various portions of Britain or its colonies, and from France. They are of English, Irish, Scotch, French, or Dutch extraction. They have almost all been disciplined in the school of affliction, and their sufferings have to a large extent resulted from the conscientious maintenance of their religious opinions against the possessors of influence and power. The majority of them have high and just ideas of personal responsibility, and of civil and religious freedom. They have come to these shores, some to better their condition in things temporal, the majority of those dissenting from the English Church for freedom to worship God; some voluntarily, to escape bitter persecution, and others as banished for religion's sake to a savage wilderness. They have been obliged thus far to contend with those inconveniences incident to first settlers in a new country, in a trying climate, with everything to learn, and surrounded by a savage foe. The proprietors at home have showed in many respects a remarkable forethought for their prosperity, in furnishing them with the means of introducing those productions of the old continent suited to their clime. Yet in this they had an eye to their own future emolument, a hope which thus far has not been realized. They have employed a scholar and philosopher, in

* Cardross's letter, dated Stuart's Towne, on Port Royall, July 17, 1684, and addressed to Robert Quarry, Governor.—Rivers, p. 408; Collections Hist. Soc., i., pp. 92, 93.

† In the description of Carolina by Thomas Ash, clerk of his majesty's ship Richmond, who was in Carolina from 1680 to 1682, the population is stated at 1000 or 1200; but "the great numbers of families from England, Ireland, Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the Caribee Islands, have more than doubled that number."—Printed at London, 1682; See Carroll, ii., p. 82.

many respects the most eminent and high-minded of his day, to frame an ideal government, which should combine every imaginable excellence, and surpass the Utopia of More or the Republic of Plato. It has been found unsuited to a region as yet without a people, and where the colonists as they slowly gather must necessarily learn to govern themselves, and where, having originated their own government and usages for the most part, they cannot be brought to adopt a model framed on an aristocratic basis, a government of nobles and barons, of palatines, landgraves, and cassiques, and become tenants and lieges, rather than an independent self-governing people. Already there are the beginnings of three or four Christian denominations, and of the three forms of ecclesiastical government known among Protestants. Dr. Dalcho supposes, without being able positively to prove it, that the Episcopal church of "St. Philip" was already erected. Religious worship had been conducted agreeably to the Scotch Presbyterian usage, by William Dunlop, as yet only a licentiate of Presbytery, at Lord Cardross's colony at Stuart's Town, on Port Royal, from their first landing. Whether the Presbyterian or the Congregational element prevailed among the remainder, it is now difficult to ascertain. The probability is perhaps in favor of the preponderance (as yet) of the former element. The Dutch settlers were of the Presbyterian church of Holland, the Irish were of that faith, the Huguenots were of the French Presbyterian church, and it is most probable that a large share of the English settlers were of the English Presbyterian faith. It is by no means probable that these various representatives of churches which had endured so much for "freedom to worship God," should have lived, some of them, for fifteen years on these shores without social worship. As we have seen that Francis Makemie contemplated a settlement here, and had taken ship from Maryland for that purpose in May, 1684, and that Mr. Thomas Barret had been living in South Carolina as a minister of the Gospel previous to July, 1685, and was then about leaving for New England, perhaps to join the Presbyterian colonists there, it is to be presumed that they had already some more or less formal organization of a religious nature.

CHAPTER III.

CONCURRENT EVENTS.—ACT OF INDULGENCE.

DURING these fifteen years great events and great changes had been taking place in those countries from which these colonists came. And as they constitute an outlying and distant portion of the several churches of Europe, it will be proper briefly to review these events in which so much was exhibited which contributes to the glory, on the one part, and the opprobrium, on the other, of those communities claiming to be Christian. And we first turn our attention to Scotland, the earlier home of American Presbyterianism.

The first act which synchronizes with this period of our history was the Act of Indulgence. In this the Privy Council were instructed to appoint such of the ejected ministers of the Church of Scotland as had lived peaceably and orderly, to their former parishes if vacant, or others the Council should approve of, on certain conditions which were mentioned; and that all pretext for conventicles being now removed, they should proceed with all severity against those who should hold or frequent them. Forty-two ministers accepted this indulgence,—not, however, without protesting against the king's supremacy in matters of religion, or maintaining the sole sovereignty of Christ. A great number of the ejected ministers declined to accept the indulgence, believing that in doing so they would necessarily admit the right of the civil ruler to exercise power over the Church of Christ. The church and its ministry thus became divided and weakened. In the year 1670 the "indulged" ministers were dealt with severely for not complying with *all* the terms of the indulgence. Other ministers were seized and punished for holding conventicles, and many gentlemen were heavily fined for attending them. Yet the more these meetings were forbidden the more numerous were they attended, and men of the congregations, of determined courage, armed themselves, and compelled those who came to disturb them to remain quietly, or peaceably depart. Acts of parliament were then passed requiring all subjects, of whatever degree, sex, or quality, to depose upon oath their knowledge of any person holding or frequenting such meetings, under penalty of fine, imprisonment, or banish-

ment to the plantations. Another act forbade all "outed" ministers from preaching, expounding, or praying, except in their own houses and to their own families, threatened that those who convocate conventicles in the fields shall be punished with death and confiscation of goods, and offered a reward to any who should seize the persons of such preachers, and an indemnity for any slaughter which might occur in the seizure. The people were only roused to the most determined resistance by these attempts to coerce them, in matters of conscience, for the purpose of forcing them under episcopal rule. They came together in still greater numbers, prepared with weapons of defence, determined to hear the word of God from the eloquent lips of their own beloved ministers, who preached with the power and demonstration of the Spirit, and with that energy and pathos with which one speaks who feels that it may be the last sermon to his fellow-mortals which the tyranny of men may allow him to utter. In 1671 the Bass Rock, on the western coast of Scotland, was purchased by the Crown, made a prison for the confinement of prisoners of state, and Lauderdale made captain. In 1672 the fines became more oppressive, the ejected ministers were hunted from place to place like wild beasts. In 1673 the Bass became the place of imprisonment of several ejected ministers. In the small county of Renfrew more than £30,000 sterling, about \$150,000, was imposed upon eleven gentlemen, not of the greatest wealth, for countenancing field-meetings. Most ample rewards were offered for the apprehension of the persecuted ministers. Even ladies were imprisoned for daring to petition council in their favor, or banished from their families and homes. In 1675 garrisons were established, in those parts of the country where field-preachings were most numerous, in the houses of Presbyterian gentlemen, that they might be reduced to poverty by the insolent soldiery sent to apprehend the ministers whom these very gentlemen revered. In this way Lord Cardross's house was garrisoned for a term of eight years. He himself was kept in prison because Lady Cardross had attended "conventicles" and Rev. John King was his chaplain, till he paid large sums of money, and was compelled to go to Carolina, and afterwards to Holland. "Letters of intercommuning" were issued against over a hundred persons, of whom sixteen or eighteen were ministers, forbidding any person from having any communion with them, in the way of "furnishing them with meat, drink, house, harbor, victual, nor no other

thing useful and comfortable to them, nor have intelligence with them by word, writ, or message, or any other manner of way." The wife was thus forbid to assist the husband, brother and sister to aid brother and sister, the parent the child, and the child the parent. In 1678 the Highland clans were brought down to assist in this work of persecution. An army of ten thousand, eight thousand of whom were Highlanders, came down upon the most cultivated parts of Scotland, carrying not only the usual implements of war, but large supplies of manacles and fetters, with thumb-screws and other instruments of torture. These wild men met with no resistance; but they pursued their course, sacking towns, plundering houses, destroying property, and abusing the persons both of men and women. In 1679 Archbishop Sharpe was waylaid by certain gentlemen of the Presbyterian party who were watching for another of their bitter persecutors, and came to the sudden resolution of inflicting upon him immediate justice, for his perfidy and many instances of cruelty and crime. This determination they executed with speedy hand, slaying him on Magus Moor, at a short distance from St. Andrew's; a fate richly deserved but wildly executed. The Presbyterian party were driven to the assumption of arms in defence of their civil and religious liberty. The rights of conscience were invaded. They could not submit to prelatical domination. They would have the pure Gospel preached by the ministers whom they loved. A party of them, assembled for this purpose, were attacked by the "Bloody Claverhouse," and took up a position of resistance at a place called Drumclog, where they put their persecutors to flight. They now determined to remain together for mutual protection. They received a considerable accession of numbers, and took up their position on the banks of the Clyde, near Bothwell Bridge. They might have maintained their position against the royalist forces, had there been any concert of action. But they were without any unity of counsel, and without any settled consistent plan of defence. The result was a complete defeat. About four hundred persons perished in the flight, and one thousand two hundred surrendered at discretion on the field. Now began a new and terrible series of vindictive persecutions, in which numbers were executed, and many banished. The Rev. John King, chaplain to Lady Cardross, and Rev. John Kid, were among the prisoners, and were executed at Edinburgh. Claverhouse now raged through the land, and perpetrated

deeds of dreadful cruelty. The recital of all these acts would occupy us too long. Cameron, the fearless minister who led on the Covenanters, was slain at Ayr's Moss. Hackston, who had been present at the murder of Sharpe, was executed with every circumstance of cruelty at Edinburgh. Isabel Alison and Marion Harvey were hung, in 1681, for hearing Cargill preach, and not refusing the Sanquhar Declaration, which the Covenanters had set forth. Cargill himself was at length taken and executed. Hume, a gentleman who had sympathized with the persecuted wanderers, was put to death though pardoned by the king, the Earl of Perth having held back the pardon and allowed the execution to take place. In 1682, "some were banished, or made to serve in the army in Flanders some were sold as slaves in Carolina and other places in America, in order to empty the full prisons to make room for others, or were gifted as slaves to masters of vessels to be transported and sold." In 1683 many perished on the scaffold. In the next year scenes of blood became so numerous and atrocious that the period was popularly known as "the killing time." Many perished during this season of relentless persecution. Among them was Captain John Paton, executed for the part he had taken at Pentland and Bothwell. Baillie of Jerviswood, an aged man, brought into court from his bed of sickness, and sustained on the scaffold by his sister-in-law, was another victim. Three women were seized, and with difficulty escaped banishment, for assisting in her hour of travail the wife of one who was concerned in rescuing his minister from the hands of his captors. "Men," says De Foe, "were obliged by horrible tortures to accuse themselves, and weak women and children to accuse their husbands, fathers, and near relations, by putting fire-matches between their fingers or under their joints." On November 22d, 1684, the Privy Council passed an act, called "the bloody act," against the declaration of the Covenanters lately put forth, "that whoever does not disown the late traitorous declaration upon oath, whether he have arms or not, is to be immediately put to death." The officers and nobles were required to convocate all the inhabitants (in certain parishes named), men and women, above fourteen years of age; and the cruel edict was, "if any own the late declaration you shall execute them, by military execution, upon the place; and if any be absent, ye shall burn their houses and seize their goods; and you shall make prisoners

of all persons in their families, above the age of twelve years, in order to transportation." The military were to put such questions as these to whomsoever they chose: "Will you renounce the covenant?" "Will you pray for the king?" "Was the killing of the archbishop of St. Andrew's murder?" "Was the rising at Bothwell Bridge rebellion?" "Will you take the test?" "Will you abjure the late treasonable declaration?"*

In the midst of these terrible persecutions Charles II. died, on February 6th, 1685, not without suspicions of poison, and secretly receiving, according to Bishop Burnet,† the rites of the Romish Church, in whose calendars he is canonized as a saint. "His ambition was directed," says Mr. Fox, "solely against his own subjects, unprincipled, ungrateful, mean, and treacherous; to which may be added vindictive and remorseless. I doubt whether a single instance can be produced of his having spared the life of any one whom motives of policy or revenge prompted him to destroy."

The death of Charles gave but a temporary respite to the persecuted church. His successor, James II., was a bigoted papist, whom his English subjects had ineffectually attempted to exclude from the succession to the throne. No amendment took place in the case of the persecuted sufferers. They wandered about almost literally, like the men of faith of a former day, "in sheep-skins and goat-skins, in dens and caves of the earth, being destitute, afflicted, tormented." The system of persecution was only reduced to a more regular plan. Presbyterians were treated still little better than murderers and assassins. In consequence of the unsuccessful invasion of the Earl of Argyle, who was their patron, two hundred of them were, without a moment's warning, taken from the prisons of Edinburgh and sent across the Forth, confined in a small room for two days, offered their liberty if they would take the oath of allegiance and supremacy; which last they could not do, since they acknowledged Christ alone as the supreme and only head of the church. A few only, worn out with suffering, were enabled to compromise with conscience so far as to comply; the remainder were driven like felons, with

* It was these troubles which induced the Scottish noblemen and gentlemen before mentioned to make their arrangements for a Scotch colony in Carolina, to escape the persecutions of arbitrary power under the guise of prelacy. In 1685 "the great and good Earl of Cassilis," who sat in Westminster Assembly, proposed to leave Scotland.

† Burnet, ii., pp. 457, 263.

their hands tied behind them, to the Castle of Dunnottar, crowded into a damp subterraneous vault, where they were denied the most common necessities of life, and had to pay for the water with which they were supplied. They were again offered the oaths, and refusing them, were banished to the plantations. Many died on the passage. This was but one instance. There were others of equal barbarity. Indeed, the descendants of these poor sufferers are to be found now in various parts of our country. Women were publicly whipped and branded on the cheek for refusing to take oaths ensnaring to their consciences. Margaret McLauchlan, relict of John Mulligen, a carpenter by trade, about sixty-three years of age, "was a woman of more than ordinary knowledge, discretion, and prudence, and for many years of singular piety and devotion; she would take none of the oaths now pressed upon women as well as men, nor desist from hearing Presbyterian ministers, and joining with her friends in prayer, and supplying her persecuted relations and acquaintances in their straits. It is a jest to suppose her guilty of rising in arms and rebellion, though, indeed, this was in her indictment. For these great crimes, and no other, she was seized on the Lord's day, when at family worship in her own house; which was now an ordinary season for apprehending honest people. Jointly with her, Margaret Wilson, eighteen years of age, and Agnes, her sister, a child of thirteen, whom their parents had been forbidden to harbor, speak to, or see, and who were obliged to wander with their brothers as fugitives through Carrick, Galloway, and Nithsdale, were imprisoned, and many methods used to corrupt them and make them take the oaths. They were sentenced for rebellion at Bothwell Bridge, Ayr's Moss, and being present at twenty field conventicles. They had never been within many miles of Bothwell or Ayr's Moss. Agnes Wilson could be but eight years of age at Ayr's Moss, and her sister but thirteen; it was impossible they could have any access to these risings; and Margaret McLauchlan was as free from them as they. All the three refused the abjuration oath, and it was unaccountable it should be put to one of them. Agnes Wilson had been got out of prison, her father being bound for her. He paid his bond rather than produce her. Both the parents had before conformed to the Episcopal rites, but had been so severely fined for their children as finally to be reduced to poverty. The sentence which was pronounced against the three was, that they should be tied to stakes fixed in the sea, between high and low water mark, and

there be drowned. Margaret Wilson's friends used every means to prevail upon her to take the oath of abjuration, and to engage to hear the curate, but she stood fast in her integrity. The barbarous sentence was executed to the letter. On the appointed day they were guarded by soldiers to the place of execution. Margaret McLauchlan's stake was a good distance beyond the other, that she might be first despatched, and her sad fate terrify the other into compliance. But in vain. When the water was overflowing her fellow martyr, Margaret Wilson was asked what she thought of the other now struggling in death. She answered, "What do I see but Christ in one of his members wrestling there. Think you that we are the sufferers? No, it is Christ in us, for he sends none a warfare upon their own charges." While at the stake, she sang, read the eighth of Romans, and prayed. While at prayer, the water covered her; but before she was quite dead, they pulled her up, and held her out of the water till she was recovered and able to speak, and then she was asked, by Major Windram's orders, if she would pray for the king. She answered, "She wished the salvation of all men, and the damnation of none." One said to her, "Dear Margaret, say God save the king, God save the king." She answered, with the greatest steadiness, "God save him, if he will, for it is his salvation I desire." Whereupon some of her relations called out to Windram, "Sir, she hath said it, she hath said it." The major then came near and offered her the abjuration, charging her instantly to swear it or return to the water. She deliberately said, "I will not; I am one of Christ's children; let me go." She was thrust down again into the water, where she finished her course with joy. She died a virgin martyr, about eighteen years of age. Both suffered for refusing conformity and the abjuration oath, and were evidently innocent of anything worthy of death. The Earl of Argyle was the most exalted of those who ended their lives by the hand of violence during this year of bloodshed. He was beheaded for taking up arms for the deliverance of his afflicted country.*

In reviewing this period of Scottish history, we are filled with amazement at the efforts which were persistently made on the part of government to invade the rights of conscience and the right of private judgment,—to force upon the people a form of ecclesiastical government which they did not admit to be best for them, nor to rest on the basis of scripture,—to pre-

* Abridged from Wodrow, vol. ii., p. 289, seq.; iii., p. 363; iv., pp. 247-249.

vent them from attending upon those religious guides whom they loved as their spiritual shepherds, and the ministers whom Christ had appointed,—and to invade, under the fiction of the king's supremacy in matters of religion, the sole headship over the church of the Lord Jesus Christ. In the contentings of the Church of Scotland, she was contending for what was truly expressed on the banners of the covenanters at Bothwell—“*Christ's Crown and Covenant.*” Her people were contending too for civil liberty. “It may be said,” says Hetherington, “in favor of the very strictest of the Presbyterians, that the principles they held were the very same which, nine years afterwards, pervaded the whole nation, drove the race of Stuarts from the throne, and secured the liberty of Britain by what all men with one consent rejoice to term the Glorious Revolution; and it would not be easy for any man who defends the principles which led to that great national deliverance to show his consistency in condemning those of the persecuted covenanters.”* “Almost the only real difference between the Declaration of the Cameronians, or rather of the true Presbyterians, and that of the Convention of the Estates at the Revolution, consisted in the former being the act of a small band of enlightened and determined patriots, the latter that of the nation.”† And we may take occasion hereafter to show how much these very principles had to do with our own American Independence.

In the neighboring country of England, during these fifteen years, the history of the dissenting churches runs parallel in many respects with that of Scotland. Still, as Episcopacy was declared at once the Established Church—as it had been previous to the Westminster Assembly of Divines—all things reverted easily to their former position. In 1672 a declaration of indulgence suspended the penal laws against the non-conformists, granted to protestant dissenters the public exercise of their religion, and to papists the exercise of theirs in their own private houses. James II. “hated the puritan sects with manifold hatred, theological and political, hereditary and personal.” “He who had expressed just indignation when the priests of his own faith were hanged and quartered, amused himself with hearing covenanters shriek, and seeing them writhe while their knees were beaten flat in the boots. In this mood he became king.” Under him Baxter was browbeaten, abused, and insulted by the demoniacal

* History of the Church of Scotland, p. 255.

† Ibid., p. 159.

Jeffreys, the most iniquitous of men, now exalted to be the terror of every dissenter and especially of every Presbyterian, and the disgrace of the English bench, converting a court of law into a tribunal not less tyrannical and bloody and far less decent than the Spanish Inquisition. The invasion of Monmouth, in concert with Argyle, raised the hopes of those who were suffering under the ban of those in power, and his defeat was followed by the most sanguinary vengeance. The courts which were held by Jeffreys immediately after, are known in legal history as "the bloody assizes." This inhuman judge treated every one who thwarted his intentions, whether prisoner or witness, with the most abusive blackguardism. "Show me a Presbyterian," says he to a witness, "and I will show thee a lying knave." "I can smell a Presbyterian forty miles." The condemned were hung in irons, or hung, drawn, and quartered. Even the female sex were not permitted to escape. Lady Alice, the widow of John Lisle, who had been commissioner of the great seal under Cromwell, was condemned to be burned alive for entertaining a couple of fugitives, one of whom was a clergyman, in her own dwelling, in her abundant charity; and yet she had in former times shown the same kindness to suffering royalists. Three hundred and twenty, according to Macaulay, six hundred according to Burnet, seven hundred according to Lonsdale, were hung in these "bloody assizes." Eight hundred and forty-one were transported by Jeffreys to the West Indies, and sold as slaves for the term of ten years, purposely sent to an unhealthy climate and an unsympathizing people. Their property became the spoil of those who condemned them. The dissenters could now only meet in secret, with sentinels posted to give the alarm if a stranger approached. The minister was clothed in some disguise. Trap-doors, or passages through the walls of adjoining houses, furnished methods of concealment or escape, or curtains suspended before the preacher concealed his person till he could secrete himself from search. Some of the best of men retired from England, among whom was John Howe, who went abroad with Lord Wharton and took up his abode at Utrecht.

The affairs of the Huguenots in France became more and more desperate. One after another the higher nobles had deserted their cause, the inferior nobles followed them, and many of the gentlemen also discovered that the path of honorable and lucrative employment was only to be found and preserved by adopting the religion of the state. The ruin of the Protestants was now resolved on. Madame de Maintenon

says of Louis XIV., "If God spares him, there will be only one religion in his kingdom." By special decrees many of the Protestant houses of worship were closed, and ministers convicted of holding unauthorized assemblies were led by the public executioner with a rope around their necks, and banished the kingdom. In 1670, schoolmasters were forbidden to teach the children of Protestants beyond the common branches of reading, writing, and arithmetic. In 1671, it was again decreed that they should have but one school and one teacher in any place. Mixed courts, half of Protestants and half of Catholics, were abolished, and they must always appear before judicatories prejudiced against them. A fund was created for the conversion of Protestants, and placed under the direction of Pelisson, himself a convert from the Huguenot ranks, who bought his converts at six livres per head; the "miracles" of Pelisson were a jest of the court, where he was represented to be less learned, but more persuasive than Bossuet. Protestant nobles were deprived of their nobility, which, perhaps, was but recently conferred; soldiers were quartered upon the reformed, and the privacy of their families destroyed; but if they should be converted to the Church of Rome they were to be exempted for two years. Children were permitted to enter the church from the age of seven years; and if, by the terror of the rod, or the offer of an orange, or any other means, a child could be brought to express the slightest desire to join the Romish Church, or to enter its place of worship,—if it could be affirmed that he had joined in prayer, made the sign of the cross, or kissed the image of the Virgin, he was taken away from the care and society of his parents, and educated in the faith of Rome at his parents' expense. Churches were demolished which were in the vicinity of those of the dominant faith. Those especially in towns where the Protestant population were the most numerous were destroyed. The course of instruction in the Reformed colleges was interfered with. Greek, Hebrew, and Theology were successively struck off from the curriculum. The college of Sedan was destroyed in 1681, that of Montauban interdicted in 1685, and that of Saumur suppressed. At length the soldiery were sent to undertake the conversion of the Huguenots. As they entered the houses of the district of Poitou, sword in hand, they would cry "Kill! kill!" to frighten the women and children. As long as there were any money or valuables remaining, they pillaged them of all. They would then seize them by the hair and drag

them to church, or they would torture them at slow fires, by roasting their hands or feet. They would break their ribs or arms with blows, or burn their lips, or throw them into damp dungeons to rot. In the canton of Bearn, these "booted apostles," instructed by their leader, would keep the head of the family and other members of the household awake by noise of drums, by compelling them to maintain an erect position, pricking them with sharp instruments, pulling them about, suspending them by cords, blowing tobacco smoke up their nostrils, till they were completely exhausted, and would promise anything to escape from their complicated tortures. An old man of Nismes, M. de Lacasagne, tormented thus a long time by fifty dragoons, abjured in the presence of the bishop. "Soon," says the prelate, "you will find repose." "Alas, my lord," replied the worn-out old man, "I expect repose only in heaven, and God grant its gates, should I reach them, may not be shut against me." Young mothers were bound to the post of the conjugal bed, and reduced to the alternative of abjuring or seeing their infants perish with hunger. Some succumbed under their maternal love, and professed conversion, for the privilege of suckling their famishing babes, hoping that the infinite mercy of God would pardon the act, and pity the weakness of a mother's love. The soldiers offered indignities to the women. Their officers were no better. "They spat in their faces, made them lie down on burning coals, forced them to put their heads in ovens, the vapors of which were enough to suffocate them." Their study was to invent tortures which should be painful without being mortal. They affirmed that everything was permitted them, by the order of their superiors, except murder and rape. The greater part of the commerce and manufactures of the nation were then in the hands of the Huguenots. Their richly-furnished houses were rifled, and their stores, filled with goods, plundered. The dragoons made their horses lie down on the fine linens of Holland, and stabled them in the shops of the merchants, filled with bales of silk, wool, and cotton. At Bordeaux some were cast into the dungeons of the castle, the walls of which were arranged in the form of retorts. The miserable victims of imprisonment in these could not continue standing, lying, or sitting. They were let down into them with ropes, and drawn up daily to be scourged. Many, after a few weeks of confinement, came forth from the dungeons of Grenoble without either hair or teeth. At Valance they were cast into deep pits,

noisome with the stench of the decaying entrails of sheep. These combined enormities filled whole communities with terror. Many feigned conversion to escape them. News was constantly borne to the court of Louis, of the result of these diabolical cruelties.* Madame de Maintenon writes to her confessor, "The king is well; every courier brings him great cause for joy: news of conversions by thousands." At length he gave the finishing stroke, as he supposed, to the French Protestant Church, and signed at Fontainebleau, on the 22d of October, 1685, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Protestant temples were ordered now to be demolished, and their religious worship, both private and public, was prohibited. The ministers were to leave the country within fourteen days, on pain of the galleys. The people were not permitted to leave, and any attempt was punished by the galleys if they were men, and imprisonment if women, and by confiscation of their goods. Refugees were to return within four months, and if they did not so return, their property was to be confiscated. The day the edict was registered, the demolition of the church at Charenton, built by the architect Debrosse, and capable, it is said, of containing 14,000 persons, was begun and finished in five days.† Other churches, where the eloquence of some of the noblest men of France had defended the truth, and called men to repentance, structures, famous for their magnitude or architectural beauty, were levelled with the ground. The temple of Nismes was soon a heap of ruins, which was long marked by a stone in the midst, bearing the inscription, "Here is the House of God: Here is the Gate of Heaven."‡ The ministers immediately

* Louvois writes: "60,000 conversions have been made in the district of Bordeaux, and 20,000 in Montauban. There remains only 10,000 religionists in the District of Bordeaux, where, on the 15th of last month, were 150,000." The Duke of Noailles announced the entire conversion of Nismes, Uzès, Alais, Villeneuve. "The most considerable men of Nismès," he wrote, "apostatized in the church the day after my arrival." Again, he writes: "The number of religionists in this province is about 240,000; and when I asked from you till the 25th of next month for their complete conversion, I took too long a time; for I believe that will be finished by the end of the present month."

† The Rev. Thomas Cotton was an eye-witness of this desecration. "The sight of the vast assembly there convened," says he, "was not transporting; but the thought of such numbers being devoted to banishment, to slavery, and to the most barbarous deaths, some of which I witnessed, was more than I could bear."

‡ "The Protestants," says Weiss, "were steeped in a lethargy of grief. They had admired Louis XIV. as the greatest king of the age, obstinately believing in his good faith, his wisdom, and his humanity." They had

left the kingdom, in haste, not knowing whither they went. They were sometimes detained on the frontiers, that they might be prevented from escaping within the appointed time, and so be doomed to the galleys. Multitudes of the people attempted their escape, were arrested, sent to the galleys, and chained for life to the benches on which they ate and slept. Among these were often men of intelligence and illustrious descent.* Many were sold as slaves to the West Indies. Multitudes, notwithstanding the frontiers were guarded, escaped by night or in the day-time, in innumerable disguises, or in boats, and every kind of procurable craft by sea. "Six hundred thousand," says Voltaire, "fled from the persecutions of Louis, carrying with them their riches, their industry, and their implacable hatred against their king."†

The commerce and manufactures of France were crippled by the departure of her most industrious and valuable citizens, and her arts and manufactures transferred to those countries where the persecuted fugitives found refuge. At this time, and from this cause, Carolina received many valuable citizens from the French Huguenots, who brought their pastors with them, and at an early period set up their worship according to the Presbyterian faith and order. The sufferings which they underwent in escaping from their own country to this, may be conceived by the letter of Judith Manigault to her brother: "During eight months," she says, "we had suffered from the contributions and the quartering of the soldiers, with many other inconveniences. We resolved on quitting France by night, leaving the soldiers in their beds, and abandoning the house and its furniture. We continued to hide ourselves at Romans, in Dauphiny, for two days, while a search was made for us; but our hostess, being faithful, did not betray us. We passed on to Lyons, to Dijon, to Metz, to Treves, to Coblentz, to Cologne, to Holland, and to England, and thence to Carolina. Embarking at London, we suffered every kind of misfortune. The red fever broke out on board the ship; many of us died of it, and among them our aged mother. We touched at the islands of Bermuda, where the vessel which

reposed, also, on the remonstrances of the Protestant powers. Every illusion ceased, however, when they saw fall, even to the last, the eight hundred temples they possessed."—Vol. i., p. 102.

* See lists of the sufferers in Coquerel, *Histoire des Églises du Désert*, Appendix.

† Methods of escape.—De Felice, p. 415, *et seq.*; Southern Lit. Gaz., p. 165; and Zurich Letter, Weiss, vol. i., pp. 109, 110. Comp., also, Browning's Huguenots, and Smedley.

carried us was seized. We spent all our money there, and it was with great difficulty that we procured a passage on board of another ship. New misfortunes awaited us in Carolina. At the end of eighteen months, we lost our eldest brother, who succumbed to such unusual fatigue. So that, after our departure from France, we endured all that it was possible to suffer. I was six months without tasting bread, working, beside, like a slave; and during three or four years, I never had the wherewithal completely to satisfy the hunger which devoured me. And yet," adds this woman, in a spirit of the most admirable resignation, "God accomplished great things in our favor, by giving us the strength necessary to support these trials."* Another, who became the mother of an important family, was conveyed in her childhood over the frontier of France in a large milk-can in the pannier of a beast of burden—for the parents had assumed the guise of dairyman and dairymaid, as if going to the nearest market town to supply milk to the inhabitants for their morning meal.†

BOOK THIRD.

CHURCHES IN CHARLESTON AND ITS VICINITY.

A. D. 1685-1700.

CHAPTER I.

DURING the fifteen years immediately following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a number of events occurred intimately connected with the religious interests of the province. One of the most interesting, if not tending to the permanent growth of the Presbyterian cause so much as could be desired, was the emigration of our persecuted brethren of France. As this immediately commenced, and was continued down to the close of the century and after, it will be first presented, without tracing with entire accuracy its successive

* Yet her son, Gabriel, became wealthy in the next generation, and loaned 220,000 dollars to the American Congress to carry on the war of Independence.

† See also the escape of La Fontaine.—"Huguenot Family," pp. 111-121.

stages, though there are a number of specific dates, well ascertained, which determine the year in which various families arrived.

Among the original holders of lots in Old Charles-Town, on the west side of the Ashley river, who had removed from the attempted settlement at Port Royal, were Richard Batin, James Jour, and Richard Deyos. These were probably French protestants, who, having fled to England for asylum, came with the first colonists, under the guidance of Sayle. There are grants of land to French emigrants previous to the removal of the government to Oyster Point—the site of New Charles-Town. One, for example, to Jean Bullon, August 11th, 1677; to Lydia Barnott, and Jean Bazant and wife, September 7th, 1678; orders of survey and location of five hundred acres for Pierre Bodit, in 1678; of one thousand acres for Samuel Buttall and wife, in 1682; a grant of seventy acres to Mary Batton (wife of Jean Batton), *ci-devant* Mary Fosteen, in 1683.

We find a sale, by the proprietors, to Nicholas Longuemar, of one hundred acres of land; to James Le Bas of three thousand, in 1685; to Joachim Gaillard of six hundred acres, in 1687; to Bartholomew Le Roux, in 1690; to James Boyd, who had been instrumental in the settlement of French Protestants in Carolina, and been at great expense in establishing a vineyard, three thousand acres, in 1694. On record, in the Secretary of State's office, Charleston, is a deed of contract executed in London, February 25th, 1686, between Arnold Bruneau, Lord (Seigneur) of Chaboissière, and Paul Bruneau, Lord of Ruedoux, of the one part, and Josias Marylan, Lord of La Forcet, of the other part, for the erection of a mill in South Carolina, with a clause inserted that said mill may be erected on the land of either party without prejudice to the interests of the other. In a "*Liste des François et Suisses Refugiez, sur Santy en Caroline,*" which is preserved in Charleston, is found the name of Paul Bruneau de Ruedoux, son of Arnold Bruneau de la Chaboissiere, a native of Rochelle; which would seem to indicate that the settlement of the French on the Santee dates back at least to 1685 or 1686. About the same time, Anthony Cordes, *un médecin*, arrived in Charleston. He was a native of Beziers, in Languedoc, a city which had been the asylum of the Albigenses in the thirteenth century, and the funeral pile of sixty thousand of those persecuted men. He was the ancestor of several families bearing this name. He was a resident of St. John's, Berkley,

where he died in 1711-12. His wife's name was Esther Madeline Baluet, who was the sister, it is conjectured, of Judith Baluet, the wife of Benjamin Marion. James Cordes, a brother of Anthony, died in the year 1758. Isaac, another brother, died in St. John's, Berkley, where he resided; and John, still another brother, whose only memorial is the inventory of his estate, dated in the year 1757. "Isaac Mazyck, the ancestor of the numerous and respectable families in South Carolina bearing the name, arrived at Charleston, with many other Huguenot refugees, from England, in December, 1686. His father, Paul Mazyck, or Paul de Mazyck, was a native of the Bishopric of Liege, in his religious faith a *Walloon*. The name is said to have been originally attached to the family, as a *nom de terre*, derived from that of a town in the province in which they resided; and was no doubt originally written—'*de Mazyck*.' Paul married Elizabeth Van Vick (or Van Wick), of Flanders; his descendants therefore are not of French origin. He removed to Maestricht, in the Netherlands, and afterwards to St. Martin, in the Isle de Re, opposite La Rochelle. The name was changed to Mazicq, agreeably to the French idiom. The German orthography was resumed by the emigrant to South Carolina. Stephen Mazyck emigrated to England, thence to Ireland, and resided many years in Dublin, where he died. Isaac fled from France to Amsterdam. He was a wealthy merchant, and succeeded in transferring to that commercial city the sum of £1500 sterling. From Amsterdam he went to England with his funds; and sailed from London with an interest in the cargo of £1000. This investment enabled him, in Charleston, to lay the foundation of the wealth which he afterwards acquired, and which he liberally dispensed in aid of the religious and charitable institutions of the city." He is believed to have been one of the founders of the Huguenot church in Charleston, to which he left in his will £100; the interest of which he directed to be paid annually forever for the support of a Calvinistic minister of that church. In his family Bible, under date of 1685, is this record: "God gave me the blessing of coming out of France, and of escaping the cruel persecution carried on there against the Protestants; and to express my thanksgiving for so great a blessing, I promise, please God, to observe the anniversary of that by a fast." Other emigrants of the same period were Peter Poinsett, Gabriel Guignard, "who emigrated soon after the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, with the Gaillards, Trapiers, Manigaults, and others,—and who gave the city of Charleston a street

which still bears his name,"—Philip Gendron, and indeed a large list of names, yet carefully preserved.

"There were nearly a thousand fugitives," says Weiss, though there may perhaps be some mistake in the number, "who successively embarked for Carolina, in the ports of Holland alone, and under the eyes of the Count d'Arvaux, who carefully informed himself of their designs, and neglected nothing for the purpose of thwarting them." "More than a hundred persons," the Lord de Tillières, the most cunning and best instructed of his agents, wrote him in 1686, "are buying a frigate, half resolved on going to Carolina! I can assure you she will contain more than 1,200,000 livres." He added, some days after, "I have spoken to Sieur la Clide, refugee captain in this country, some of whose relations are going in her to Carolina. He tells me that there will be about four hundred persons resolved to fight well in case of attack, and to set fire to the vessel should they be reduced to the last extremity. Provided the money be saved, the loss of their persons would be no great one." "Messieurs les Carolins," he wrote again, "have bought a hundred and fifty guns and muskets, fifty musquetoons, and thirty pair of pistols, at Utrecht. . . . These gentlemen cannot accommodate themselves with a vessel in this country. There is one carrying fifty cannon, which has been chartered for them in England." "Our Carolinians of Amsterdam are about to join themselves with those of Rotterdam, to the number of one hundred and fifty. They have two barks at Rotterdam, in which they are going to England. At London they have many associates who are going to Carolina. They will load them with Malmsey wine, and other merchandise, in the island of Madeira. The two barks, and their ship of from forty-five to fifty guns, which they have chartered in England, will be manned by four hundred well armed persons. If your vessels would lie off the coasts of the island of Madeira or Lisbon, it would be a great affair."*

The Rev. Elias Prioleau, ancestor of the family of that name, left Pons, in France, in April, 1686, some six months after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and brought with him a considerable number of his congregation. The following sketch of his earlier history has been compiled from the

* Report of Tillières to the Count d'Arvaux. French ambassador to Holland, June 7th, June 12th, June 26th, 1686, in Weiss, *French Refugees*, vol. i., p. 338. For the preceding, see *Lit. Gaz.*, Presbyterian, 1850.

History of the Churches of Pons, Gemozac, and Montagne, in Saintonge, written in the French language, by Rev. A. Crottet, pastor of the Church at Pons, and published in 1841. His father, Samuel Prioleau, son of Elisha Prioleau,* *sieur de La Viennerie*, had been Pastor at Jonzac in 1637, and at Niort in 1642, and succeeded Jean Constans, a minister of singular ability and virtue, with whom he had been associated, as colleague, for some years, and who died in 1650. The first years of the pastorate of Samuel Prioleau were passed in tranquillity, but the state of things was changed when the clergy and the Jesuits, who had become all-powerful at the Court of Louis XIV., entered upon their schemes for abrogating the muniments which the edict of Henry IV. had thrown around the Reformed. One after another, with considerable intervals between, its provisions were infringed, even under the appearance of carrying the edict into execution, till the Protestants were deprived of all means of protecting or exercising their ecclesiastical rights. Under these circumstances Elias Merlat, Pastor at Saintes, made overtures for the assembling of a Synod at Pons, to concert means for removing the obstacles interposed to the exercise of the Reformed worship. It met on the 25th of June, 1667, and Prioleau filled the office of Moderator.

Meanwhile, their enemies attempted to deprive this worship, and the pastors, of all symbols of outward dignity. The title of pastors was denied them, and they were called simply ministers of the pretended or self-styled reformed religion (R. P. R.) They were prohibited from wearing their clerical robes, or to appear in long habits, outside of the houses of worship. The use of bells was forbidden except in garrisoned towns. They were forbidden to sing psalms in public, or at the execution of criminals, or on days of public rejoicing. Funerals could only take place at the break of day or in the early night, and this without any address or exhortation from the pastor. The national and provincial synods were required to forbid pastors from preaching, except in the places of their residence, cutting off thus from small congregations annexed to others, the exercise of public worship.

* So Crottet. Some American authorities make him the son of Antoine, or Antoni Prioli, who was elected Doge of Venice in 1618, and died in 1623, and suppose that the orthography of the name was adapted to the French idiom by the son on his becoming a citizen of France.—*Histoire des Églises Réformées de Pons, Gemozac, et Montange, en Saintonge, par A. Crottet, de Genève, Pasteur à Pons: à Bordeaux, 1841.* The author of this interesting history now resides at Iverdon, in Switzerland.

Samuel Prioleau had permitted to escape him in the pulpit some words which showed his indignation at these procedures. These were gathered up and commented on with no friendly spirit. After an imprisonment of more than a year, he was condemned, in reparation of his pretended blasphemy, to pay a fine of six hundred pounds, five hundred of which went to the Franciscans for the construction of their convent, on condition that they should pray on St. Paul's day and St. Peter's for the exaltation of the Holy Church and the Holy Father, the Pope, and should invoke the Lord for the extirpation of heresy.

Samuel Prioleau died February 17th, 1683; having exercised the ministerial functions in the town of Pons for thirty-two years.

Elias Prioleau was called to occupy his father's place by the Colloquy (Presbytery) met at Bazieux on the 4th of May, 1683. With a true devotedness he entered upon the perilous work confided to him. Many of his colleagues, of the neighboring churches, had been torn from their flocks, under various pretences. In spite of this he did not fear to place himself at the head of a church environed with so many dangers. He prudently strove with the Elders of the Consistory (Session) to conform to the royal orders. Proper measures were taken to send the titles of the church to Paris, and to deposit them with the Marquis of Châteauneuf, that they might be remitted to the Council of State. They caused, meanwhile, to be read in church, during many consecutive Sabbaths, the act of the last Synod, which excluded from the Supper those whom fear or worldly interests had induced to abjure the evangelical worship. They distributed *tokens** to the communicants, which they must present on approaching the table. Fathers offering children for baptism, and god-fathers and god-mothers, were required to present themselves to the elders near the pulpit, before the ceremony, and establish, by certificate or otherwise, their membership in the Reformed Church. On days of communion, seven or eight hundred persons partook of the sacrament; alms and collections were abundant, and church dues were promptly paid, and discipline strictly administered.

But difficulties thickened around this devoted church and minister. All the churches of that neighborhood had been already annihilated. On the 10th of February, 1684, Du

* These were pieces of block tin, of the size of a *sous*, which usually bore on the obverse the comforting words—Luke, xii. 22—"Fear not, little flock."

Vigier, Councillor of the Parliament of Bordeaux, charged to take cognizance of the infractions of the edicts and declarations of the king in the department of Saintonge, repaired to Pons, and ordered all the papers which the Consistory might possess to be delivered to him. He associated with himself two monks of the Recollets (of St. Francis), as denunciators, witnesses, parties, registrars, or assessors. One, La Roussie, set himself to making extracts from all the sermons of Prioleau that he could hear of or procure, and put them into the hands of the deputy commissary, after he had spitefully distorted them. The other was Augustin Mayac, who, joining his efforts to those of his *confrere*, Du Vigier, was enabled, after an examination of eight hours, to collect sixteen heads of accusation against Elias Prioleau. Behold the heinous crimes with which he was charged! "1st. That he had preached at Pons before being established there as minister. 2d. That he had baptized an infant of Mr. Marchais, privately baptized before by Saunier, the surgeon. 3d. That he had written a letter to M. St. Hilaire, to the address of Sieur Allenet à Saint-Jean, of which the original had been sent to the office of the commissary. 4th. That the daughters of Abraham Garnier la Crápussille had come to preaching at Pons since the abjuration of their father. 5th. That children of one named Bernard Hoste had come to the church of Pons since their father became a Roman Catholic. 6th. That children of one named Richard Blanconnier had been conducted to preaching by their mother-in-law since the abjuration of their father. 7th. That a person named Bertin had come to preaching at Pons since the abjuration of her father, and since she herself had become Catholic. 8th. That the wife of one named Boursier, bastard of Mr. Fourestier La Brande, had come to preaching at Pons." Such is the character of the whole sixteen accusations. They could not furnish sufficient ground for a sentence against Prioleau, and he was restored to his flock.

It was, however, only to witness among them the deepest afflictions. The persecution, which had consisted in confiscation and imprisonment, now was carried out in acts of violence and barbarity. The Countess of Marsan signalized herself by an ardent fanaticism. She caused to be carried off, imprisoned, beaten, and maltreated, those who declined conversion. She caused cruelties to be inflicted on persons of every age and sex, but devoted her attention particularly to the kidnapping of children from every quarter. Many men and

women succumbed, after three or four weeks in prison. Many, however, resisted successfully, and regained their liberty. Even children sometimes carried their firmness further than one could dare to hope. Jean de Brung, an orphan, twelve years of age, persisted more than a month, though the domestics of the lady made him submit to a thousand torments. They strove, above all, to prevent him from praying to God. At last they bethought themselves of the expedient of lowering him with cords into the privies, where they left him suspended, threatening to leave him to die if he persevered. The mephitic vapors he was constrained to breathe wore out his patience. One, named Jacques Pascalet, shut up in the tower of Pons, was thrown into a dungeon, where he could only breathe through a hole. The domestics of the Countess contrived to have the smoke of hay and wet straw penetrate there to suffocate him, and so convert him. This kind of suffering did not destroy his courage, and they conducted him to a chamber, where they made him turn around upon a table, constructed for this purpose, to produce giddiness. This exhausted his strength, and he fell to the ground in a species of *coma*. From this he was aroused by the blows of his pitiless tormentors. He could hold out no longer, but finished by abjuring.

They complained to Du Vigier. He sent them back to the Countess. They next applied to the Parliament of Guienne, and, obtaining no satisfaction, presented their case to the king, but received no response.

Many instances of the like cruelty could be here repeated. The plan adopted by Louis XIV. or his confessor, the Jesuit, La Chaise, was followed. Missionaries were sent to Pons, with little success. These were followed by another kind of converters. Dragoons were quartered on families, to eat out their substance, and where these failed, they resorted to those manifold tortures of the body which we have recounted elsewhere. At length, Oct. 18th, 1685, the revocation of the edict ordained also the demolition of all the churches in the realm—the cessation of Protestant worship—required the ministers to leave the kingdom in fifteen days; required parents to present their children for baptism to the priests, under the penalty of a fine of five hundred pounds. The following November, the inhabitants of Pons belonging to the Reformed religion, received information of this edict. The greater part, fearing a continuance of these cruel persecutions, permitted themselves to sign a formula of abjuration which had been

prepared in advance. Those who persisted, had the pain of seeing their children conducted to the mass, their daughters shut up in the convents of Pons and Saintes, and their sons educated by Jesuits. Others prepared themselves to quit a country where they could no longer serve the Lord in spirit and truth. Prioleau could not decide to abandon his flock, which was still so dear. He braved the danger, and organized secret assemblies. The 15th of April was the most dolorous day for the Protestants who had resisted all the ordeals of persecution. The house of worship was battered down. While their enemies were laboring at its demolition, Prioleau, who had assembled the people together, addressed them a most touching discourse, which they listened to flowing down with bitter tears.

Such is the account which Crottet gives of the pastor, Elias Prioleau. He adds the following words: "From this moment we are entirely ignorant what was the fate of this faithful minister. Perhaps he was the victim of his zeal and self-devotion, and finished his days upon the galleys of Rochefort, or else, seeing that his presence was a continual danger to those who furnished him an asylum, he took the resolution of withdrawing to a foreign country. However this was, while he was at Pons he did not cease to manifest the qualities and virtues of a true servant of God."

The last conjecture of M. Crottet is right. The sequel he did not know until the publication of M. Weiss's History of the Huguenots, in Paris, in 1853. He learned from that work that the pastor Prioleau had come to Carolina. He sought information respecting his descendants through foreign friends resident in New York, and the result was a correspondence between M. Crottet and Daniel Ravenel, Esq., of Charleston, who is a lineal descendant of Elias Prioleau. This correspondence was marked by kindness, and led to the conclusion on the part of M. Crottet that "the REFORMED CHURCH OF CHARLESTON is an offshoot of the church of Pons." Elias Prioleau then may be regarded as its founder, perhaps in conjunction with the Rev. Florente Philippe Trouillart, who were its first ministers. Mr. Trouillart was in Carolina in the latter part of 1686. They served the church as colleagues, and probably without compensation, both ministers and people being dependent alike on secular employment. An additional fact tends to fix the existence of the French church in Charleston at a date as early as this. In the Secretary of State's office in that city is deposited the will of Cæsar Moze, a

French refugee, and written in French, bearing date June 20th, 1687, witnessed by Jacob Guerard and Isaac Lenoir, naming Samuel Boudinot as his executor, in which he bequeaths to this church of the Protestant French refugees in Charleston, "*trente sept lieures*" (thirty-seven livres) to assist in building a house of worship in the neighborhood of his plantation on the eastern branch of the T of Cooper river. There was, then, a church of French Protestants in Charleston, in 1687, fully organized, who could be intrusted with funds for the erection of a house of worship in the country, when it was felt to be needed.

The church of Pons, the former charge of Elias Prioleau, was annihilated. It had neither temple nor pastor. The greater part of its members had feigned a conversion far from their hearts. It was in this melancholy situation that they received a long letter from their co-religionists of Saintonge, who had left all, that they might go to a foreign country to find that freedom to worship God denied them in France. This epistle is addressed, "To our brethren who groan under the captivity of Babylon, to whom we desire peace and mercy on the part of God." It is a letter full of affectionate advice and faithful rebuke, uttered in eloquence of language and deep sincerity. We imagine it to have been penned by Elias Prioleau, though we have no certain evidence that this is the fact.*

The wife of Prioleau was the daughter of Elias Merlat, pastor of Saintes, before mentioned, who was a Huguenot minister of great reputation and merit, and shared in the common persecutions. He was arrested in July, 1679, on various frivolous pretences, the chief of which was that he had written a book in answer to one published by the celebrated Arnaud, entitled "The subversion of the Morals of Jesus Christ by the doctrine of the Calvinists touching Justification." [This book of Arnaud's was a tissue of dark impostures, designed to show that the doctrine of the Reformed respecting justification, the perseverance of the saints, and the certainty of salvation, dispensed with good works, and promised salvation whatever crimes they might commit.] For his answer to this book he was convicted of sedition and heresy. The book of Merlat was condemned to be torn and burnt in front of the church by the common hangman. He was to retract the propositions which should be read to him,

* Extracts from this letter may be seen in Pres. Review for Oct., 1800.

was placed under a perpetual interdict, and was fined 3,000 livres. From this sentence he appealed, but the appeal was quashed. He was condemned to be brought into court in irons, acknowledge that he had inconsiderately and maliciously written the book, and preached in terms contrary to the edict; that for this he was very penitent, and implored pardon from God, the king, and justice. Prioleau, who had approved the book, and René Pean, the printer, were placed under censure. Otherwise Merlat was to be sent into perpetual banishment, to pay a fine of a thousand livres to the king, and six hundred to be bestowed in alms. Four days after this sentence Merlat was conducted into court, and after a short and respectful preface, in which he protested that he had never designed to scandalize any person, and that his conscience was not convinced that he had done aught in malice, and that he read the declaration which had been given him simply in the way of obedience, he complied with the terms of the sentence, and read the declaration. The conviction and sentence of this celebrated minister filled others with apprehension, for none regarded themselves safe from similar vexations, and it was not long before others were proceeded against in the same way.*

The name of Elias Prioleau and that of Jeanne Merlat, his wife, head the list of French and Swiss refugees in Carolina, who obtained naturalization in 1698.† There are said to be manuscript copies of the productions of Elias Prioleau existing among his descendants, delivered in France as early as 1677, which are characterized by great doctrinal purity, deep piety, elegance of diction, and vigor of mind. In his will, written in French, and executed in Charleston, on the 8th of February, 1689-90, he styles himself "minister of the holy Gospel in the French Church of Charlestown." But it would seem that he preached to other congregations also. The following is an extract from the will:

"I direct my said wife" (his sole executrix) "to give immediately after my death five pounds sterling to the church to whose service I shall be most ordinarily attached at the end

* Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, tome troisième, pp. 385-391.

† A copy of this list is in our possession, entitled "Liste de François et Suisses Refugez au Caroline qui souhaitent d'être [tre] naturalizes Anglois." It was discovered in a parcel of old papers belonging to Henry de St. Julien, who died seventy years of age, in 1758 or 9, and was the youngest son of Peter de St. Julien, mentioned in the list. From a family Bible, still in existence, it appears that a child, whose name is given in the list, was born May, 1694, and died Sept., 1695.

of my days; and if there are two which I serve with equal assiduity, she shall give to each of said churches two pounds and a half sterling. If she cannot pay in money the sum of five pounds sterling, either in whole or in part, she shall give the value of it in what she can."

Mr. Prioleau owned a farm on Medway river, a branch of Cooper river, over against Cote Bas, and opposite the French settlement of Orange Quarter, and no doubt gave his services at times to that settlement.

The pastor Prioleau died in 1699, and was buried at his farm on Black river. He has left behind him numerous descendants in South Carolina, who cherish his memory and emulate his virtues.

The colony which was sent out by Charles II., in the ship *Richmond*, forty-five in number, in the year 1780, were settled, it is believed, on the East branch of Cooper river, and formed the nucleus of what was known as ORANGE QUARTER, and subsequently the parish of St. Denis. It has been conjectured that the first name was derived from the principality of Orange, in the province of Avignon, which at the period of the revocation belonged to William, Prince of Orange, afterwards king of England, and where they had been terribly persecuted under Louis; an assembly for public worship having been attacked, a large portion captured, both men and women, and delivered over to the civil authorities, while the fugitives were pursued into the woods, some stripped, tied to trees, and left to perish with starvation. "Females were afterwards found with their noses cut off and their eyes put out, stripped of all their clothing, and in this pitiable condition wandering in the woods and highways." The name St. Denis is supposed to commemorate the battle-field of St. Denis, in the vicinity of Paris, which was the scene of a memorable encounter, in 1567, between the Catholic forces, commanded by Montmorency, and the Huguenots, led by Admiral Coligny and the Prince of Condé, in which Montmorency was slain.* Some thirty-two families were settled here soon after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and by the culture of the vine and the olive, attempted to carry out the wishes of the proprietors, who had desired to introduce the manufacture of wine, oil, and silk. The climate proved insalubrious: the land, except on the

* Southern Literary Gazette, July, 1856

margin of the river and the creeks, was unproductive, and did not reward the care of the cultivator. Among the settlers are the names of Bineau, Boisseau, Bonneau, Boudinot, Douxaint, Dupré, Dutarte, Guerard, La Pierre, Le Jean, Lesesne, Lenoir, Martien, Moze, Peyre, Poitevin, Roche, Rember, Simons, Tissot, Thomas, and Videaux.

We have seen, from the will of Cæsar Moze, that in 1687 they were accustomed to assemble here for divine worship, if there was not a church already organized. We have mentioned the probability that Elias Prioleau frequently ministered to them, as he had property in that neighborhood. The Rev. De la Pierre is supposed to have been their first pastor, but when his pastoral office commenced is unknown. This settlement was in advance of the English population.

There was another settlement and church of the Huguenots on the WESTERN BRANCH of COOPER RIVER. Of this, Anthony Cordes, M.D., who arrived in Charleston in 1686, was one of the founders. His brothers were James, Isaac, and John, who resided in St. John's, Berkley, and have no descendants. Ten families composed this settlement at the close of this century, who, though greatly scattered, were organized into a church. Their first and only pastor was Rev. Florente Philippe. Trouillart, whom we have found associated with Elias Prioleau in the pastorship of the church in Charleston. When he left that church is nowhere recorded, nor is there any record of his previous history. Mr. Daniel Ravenel once possessed a certificate of marriage in his handwriting, and in the Latin tongue, the penmanship and diction of which showed that he was an educated man. In this settlement were to be found the names of Guerard, Dubose, La Salle, Le Bass, Cordes, Verditty, De Rousserye, Monck, De St. Julien, Marion, &c.*

There was still another French settlement on the SANTEE, more considerable than the two which have been last mentioned. Towards the close of this century there were two distinct settlements south of that river, known as the French and the English Santee. The first of these was in what is now the parish of St. James, and the other in the parish of St. Stephen. The two communities had but little intercourse with each other. Of the families in French Santee was that of Boisseau, of Dubose, of Dutarte, Gaillard, Gendron, Gig-

* Presbyterian, June 15th, 1850.

nilliat, Gourdin, Horry, Huger, St. Julien, Le Grand, Mayrant, Michaud, Porcher, Postell, Ravenel, Rembert, Richebourg, Robert, and others.

To what date we should assign the organization of a Huguenot church on the Santee it is difficult to determine. Like the date of the first settlement, it is involved in uncertainty. The refugees, who emigrated to the British provinces in groups, were usually accompanied by their ministers, and their earliest solicitude, after a settlement had been effected, was the erection of a church and the institution of worship. It was for this they abandoned their native country. We cannot doubt that the Huguenots on the Santee, contemporaneously with their first possession of their newly-acquired territory, reared a church in the wilderness for the public exercise of their religion. The writer whom we quote, says, we may date their colonization antecedent to the year 1690, and expresses the opinion that this was the third church erected in the province. The settlement, again, has been referred to a date contemporaneous with the revocation, 1685; and it has been thought questionable whether the church was not older than that in Charleston. Others make it the third church probably in the province.* Rev. Pierre Robert was their first pastor. There is an ancient register of his family in which he is said to have been the first Calvinistic minister who preached in South Carolina. He is said also to have been the first person in the settlement who owned a horse; which was imported for his special use, to enable him to attend religious services, held often at remote distances from his house. There are said to have been eighty families of French Protestants on the Santee before the close of this century.

There was still another small settlement of the Huguenots on GOOSE CREEK, which was probably earlier than any other out of Charleston. They would easily find their way to this neighborhood after their arrival. But they never formed, so far as we can learn, any organized congregation.

The number of French Protestants in these several settlements, in the year 1698-9, may be known from the following return made by Peter Girard to E. Randolph, sent out to look into the affairs of the colony by the Lords of Trade. He states the number of refugees of the French church of Charleston to be 195; of Goose Creek to be 31; of the eastern branch

* See Southern Literary Intelligencer, July, 1852, and Philadelphia Presbyterian for April 20th, 1850.

of Cooper River to be 101, of the French church on the Santee, 111—being 438 in all.

In this enumeration is omitted the settlement on the western branch of Cooper river, said to consist of ten families. The settlement on the eastern branch is said to have embraced thirty-two, and that on the Santee from eighty to one hundred families at the beginning of the eighteenth century, which would suggest a larger number.

Among the early emigrants entitled to honorable mention was Benjamin Marion, grandfather of Gen. Francis Marion, of Revolutionary renown. The year of his arrival in the colony has been variously stated. Dalcho names 1694, Judge James and Simms about 1685, the author of "the Marion Family," 1690. There is an order of the governor and council, addressed to Job Howes, surveyor, to survey and admeasure 350 acres of land for Benjamin Marion, he having imported into the province seven persons, viz., Benjamin Marion, Judith, his wife; Andrew DeLean, Madelean Budnat, Mary Nicolas, servants; Toby, and Rose, a negro woman. This order bears date, March 13th, 1693-4. Another of these emigrants was Solomon Legaré, who left his native land for America in 1695 or 1696, and fixed his residence in the north-eastern part of the city of Charleston. He acquired in that quarter of the town a considerable landed property. He also purchased other property on the opposite side of the city, which is traversed by a street called Legaré street. This property descended to his children. One of his descendants sold a portion of his estate in the city and purchased other possessions on John's Island, which became the seat of that branch of the family, and where still remain two ancient mansions, erected by their forefather, the son of the emigrant.* Another family is that of General Horry, distinguished in the war of the Revolution, whose grandparents settled on the Santee, and began their fortunes, as the general often related, by working together at the whip-saw.†

There was a portion of this population reckoned as Huguenot, who were natives of Switzerland, and another and smaller portion who were of the Waldensian church. The Duke of Savoy, who had pursued these heroic men for years with bloody wars and horrid persecutions, which we shudder to

* Biographical notice of Hugh Swinton Legaré, prefixed to his works. Charleston, 1846, 2 vols., 8vo.

† Presbyterian, March 30th, 1850.

repeat, reduced them, in 1686, by falsehood and treachery, more than by arms, to unconditional submission, or forced banishment from the country. Multitudes fled to Switzerland as a temporary refuge, and reached at length our own shores. Their reception at Geneva was most noble and generous. One half of the population of that city, headed by the patriot Gianavel, came to meet them at the Arve, the boundary of their domain, and there competed with each other who should receive to the hospitalities of his dwelling the greatest number of exiles. Many remained there, near their much-loved valleys, which they hoped yet to recover; others dispersed for protection and final settlement to other countries. These were the people for whom Milton cried in his well-known sonnet:

“Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold.”

Of those who came to Carolina, there were the names of Laurens, De la Bastie, Gautier, Leger, &c. Jean Laurens was the pastor of a Vaudois church, and signed an address to the Swiss Commissioners in 1686. Siderac de la Bastie affixed his signature as moderator of the synod of Lucerne, Augrogne, Perouse, and St. Martin. Etienne Gautier and David Leger subscribed the address—the former as a deputy, the latter as assistant moderator. It is not improbable that the late Henry Laurens, who was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was descended from a refugee from Piedmont.

There is an order of the Earl of Craven and others to Joseph West, governor, to assign to Jean François de Genillat, “the first of the Swiss nation to settle in Carolina,” three thousand acres of land. Other names were Pierre Robert, first pastor of the church on Santee, Honore Michaud, Jean Pierre Pelé, &c.

The predilections of the French were for Carolina rather than any other of the English colonies. It corresponded more nearly in climate and productions with their own country, and many who first landed at the north found their way here. Those who came to Carolina were either agriculturists, or tradesmen and mechanics. The last found employment in Charleston. Among these were merchants, goldsmiths, watch-makers, shipwrights, blockmakers, sailmakers, coopers, weavers, leather-dressers, gardeners, apothecaries, gunsmiths, and wheelwrights. Some seventy families settled in Craven county, on the Santee, or on Cooper river and at Goose Creek,

and addicted themselves to the culture of the soil. Some of these were possessed of considerable property in France, which, being converted into funds, enabled them to take up large tracts of land, to obtain servants, and to surround themselves soon with comfort and plenty. Grants of land were made to them, including a small portion to some Swiss reckoned among them, to the amount of more than fifty thousand acres within a period of two years.

CHAPTER II.

AT the commencement of the period we are now considering, and contemporaneously with the commotions in France, Joseph Morton was governor of the province of Carolina. He is spoken of as a man of deeply religious character, of sobriety and wisdom. He had married the sister of Joseph Blake, lately arrived from England; was himself a dissenter from the Established Church; and great hopes were entertained that his administration would have secured perfect harmony in the infant colony. But there had already arisen two parties, one supporting the prerogatives of the proprietors, the other contending for the liberties of the people. He found it beyond his power to control the turbulent spirits who appeared, offered insult to his person, and complained of his administration. The Spaniards, whose headquarters were at St. Augustine, viewed the English colony as intruders. They claimed Florida both by the right of prior discovery and by a special grant from the pope, and regarded the southern Atlantic coast for an indefinite extent northward as included under their right. They encouraged indented servants to leave their masters, and gave them their protection; prejudiced the savage tribes against their British neighbors, and instigated them to destroy them. It was the expectation of the proprietors that the Scotch colony of Lord Cardross would have proved a barrier to the Spaniards on the south, and it was for this reason that the order was given by them that the six pieces of cannon lying dismounted and useless at Charlestown should be delivered up to Cardross. In 1686, while England and Spain were at peace, the Spaniards came with three galleys, and effected a landing at

Edisto. With them was a force of Indians and negroes. They pillaged the houses of Governor Morton and Paul Grimbail, secretary of the province, who were on duty at Charlestown, murdered the brother-in-law of the governor, carried off his money, plate, and thirteen slaves,—gathering a booty from these two individuals valued at £3000 sterling. They then attacked the Scotch settlers of Stuart-Town, who had but twenty-five men in health to oppose them, killed some, burned one alive, took others captive, whom they barbarously whipped and plundered, and destroyed the entire colony. The fugitives escaped to Charlestown.* Some of them may have returned to Scotland, and others settled in that vicinity. The name of Robert Ure occurs as having made a bequest to the church of John's Island in 1735; and it is not impossible that he may have been either the Robert Urie named in Wodrow as of Lord Cardross' colony, or his son. William Dunlop was in the colony in 1687, and, according to Hewatt, was on a committee appointed to revise the Fundamental Constitutions, and draw up a new code of laws to be transmitted to England for the approbation of the proprietors.† He returned to Scotland in 1690, and became, in the same year, principal of the University of Glasgow.‡ Letters were written to the proprietors by Cardross, complaining of the ill-treatment he had received in Carolina, to which they replied, March 3d, 1686-7, that all this was without their concurrence, expressed their regret at his losses from the Spaniards, and their determination to apply to the king for reparation.§ Broken by his

* Letter to Sothel.—Rivers, Appendix, p. 425.

† Hist. Coll., vol. i., p. 92.

‡ Wodrow, iv., p. 522.

§ Coll. of Hist. Soc., vol. i., p. 118. The invasion above alluded to put a stop for a season to all party strife in this vexed and turbulent colony. The people were roused with the greatest indignation against their Spanish neighbors. A parliament was summoned by Morton, then governor, and an act passed for raising a force against the Spaniards. An assessment of £500 was made. Two vessels were manned, and a company of four hundred men were on board, ready to sail, with the determination of taking St. Augustine, when they were arrested by the arrival of James Colleton, from Barbadoes, who was brother of Sir John Colleton, one of the proprietors, and had been created a landgrave and governor of Carolina. He commanded the return of the troops, and threatened any that persisted with hanging. The proprietors approved of the course of the governor, and wrote that, if the expedition had proceeded, "Mr. Morton, Colonel Godfrey, and others might have answered it with their lives." This indignity the colonists never forgave. In their charges against Colleton, whom, by act of parliament, they afterwards banished from the colony, they allege as one of his misdemeanors that he "did, contrary to the honor of the English nation, pass by all the bloody insolencies the Spaniards had committed against this colony; and did, with

misfortunes and suffering in health, Cardross returned to Europe, and attached himself to the friends of liberty in Holland, whence he came over to England with the Prince of Orange in 1688. He raised a regiment of dragoons for the public service in 1689, and, in the same year, obtained from parliament the restoration of his rights, privileges, and estates. He died at Edinburgh in 1693, in the forty-fourth year of his age. His son David succeeded him in his estates, and afterwards became the Earl of Buchan.* The governmental seal used in his colony was returned by the then Earl of Buchan in 1793, one hundred years after his death, as an object of curiosity, and was deposited in the Charleston library.† The happy change produced by the accession of the Presbyterian Prince of Orange to the British throne, in 1688, put a stop to the persecutions in Scotland, and the attempt to re-establish the Scotch colony was never resumed.

Besides the emigrants already mentioned, there were others who came into the colony from New England. Under the government of John Archdale, [August, 1695,] a pious and intelligent Quaker, means were taken to propitiate the Indian tribes, and to protect them from injustice. His ideas respecting their conversion were simple indeed, and contrary to the dictates of experience and apostolic example. He would have missionaries sent among them skilled in chemistry and mineralogy, to win their respect. He would have English children sent with them, who should become familiar with the Indian children, and introduce them to a knowledge of letters. He was successful, however, in propitiating the native tribes both towards the north and the south, and took them under the protection of his government. The good results were soon witnessed. Among others who enjoyed its benefits were a company of emigrants from New England, fifty-two in number, who were shipwrecked at Cape Fear, and finding themselves surrounded by barbarians, expected nothing but immediate death. They threw up around themselves an entrenchment, for their protection, the Indians, meanwhile, making signs of friendship, showing them often fish and corn to invite them

others, enter into a contract of trade with the Spaniards." "As Englishmen, who wanted not the corage to doe themselves honorable satisfaction, we could not but admire ytsoe execrable a barbarity committed upon the person of an Englishman; and the great desolation yt was made in the south part of this settlem't should be buried in silence for the hopes of a little filthy lucre."—Letter to Seth Sothel. Rivers, Appendix, p. 418; and text, p. 145.

* Wodrow, iv., p. 194.

† Ramsay, i., p. 127.

out. At length they were compelled by famine to resort to them, and were kindly entertained by the chief. Some of their number then visited Charles-Town, and informed Governor Archdale of their misfortune. He sent a vessel for them, and settled them on the north side of Cooper river, thus forming a settlement in what is known as Christ's Church parish, and within which the Congregational church of WAPPETAW was afterwards gathered, whose uncertain date, however, belongs to the early part of the next century, and not to this. The arrival and settlement of this New England colony occurred probably late in 1695, or early in 1696. About the same time Archdale received the following letter from Ipswich, Massachusetts, "from a person of note there, on the behalf of a number of people" desiring to emigrate into this province, couched in terms sufficiently flattering to the vanity of the Quaker governor:

IPSWICH, 26th June, 1696.

"GREAT SIR,—I had not thus boldly intruded myself in this manner, or been the least interruption to your public Cares, but that I am commanded to do this Service for a considerable number of Householders, that purpose (with the Favor of God's Providence, and your honour's countenance) to Transport themselves into *South Carolina*, as it now stands circumstanced with the honour of a true *English* government, with virtuous and discreet Men Ministers in it, who now design the promoting the Gospel for the increase of Virtue among the Inhabitants, as well as outward Trade and Business; and considering that the well peopling of the Southern Colony of the *English* Government or Monarchy may, with God's blessing, be a Bulwark to all the Northern Parts, and a Means to gain all the Lands to Cape *Florida* (which are ours by the first discovery of Sir *Sebastian Cabot*, at the Charges of King Henry VII., to the Crown of *England*; and being credibly informed of the Soil and Climate, promise, that all adventurers, with the favour of God, shall reap Recompence as to Temporal Blessings.

"Sir, These and such like Reasons have encouraged and produced the aforesaid Resolutions. And farther, Sir, your great Character doth embolden us, for it is such as may be said, without Flattery, as was said of *Titus Vespasian* that noble *Roman*, *Ad gratificandum assiduus Natura fuit*: So praying for blessings upon your honorable Person, concerns and Province, I rest, etc."

We are not informed whether the persons thus referred to emigrated to the province. That they did is most probable, and that they became a component part of the New England colony, whose principal seat was on Sewee Bay and the river of the same name. In confirmation of this conjecture, see Felt's History of Ipswich, Mass. "Rev. Wm. Hubbard wrote to Archdale in favour of certain emigrants. This appears to have been done Oct. 11th, 16 [] when several were dismissed from Salem Village (now Danvers) who were bound to the same part of the country." So Oldmixon. "In his (Archdale's) time several families removed from New England to settle at Carolina, and

seated themselves on the river, Sewee in North [South] Carolina."*

Another important colony, which seems to have originated in great part from religious motives, was the colony from Dorchester, in Massachusetts, which founded the town and settlement of Dorchester, in South Carolina. This also took place while Archdale was governor, and sixteen years after the foundation of the present city of Charleston. They came into this country as a missionary church, to plant the institutions of the gospel. In the farewell sermon of Rev. Mr. Danforth to the colony when leaving, he reminds them of the "importunity both by letter and otherwise that was used with our minister, that both a minister should be sent to these remote parts and that he should be ordained also; sundry godly Christians there being prepared for and longing after the enjoyment of all the edifying ordinances of God; there being withal in all that country neither ordained minister nor any church in full gospel order; so neither imposition of the hands of Presbytery, nor donation of the right hand of fellowship can be expected there." The text of Mr. Danforth's sermon was Acts, xxi. 4, 5, 6,—“And finding disciples, we tarried there seven days: who said to Paul through the Spirit, that he should not go up to Jerusalem. And when we had accomplished those days, we departed and went our way; and they all brought us on our way, with wives and children, till we were out of the city; and we kneeled down on the shore and prayed. And when we had taken our leave of one another, we took ship; and they returned home again.” This text is a description of the parting scene between the Christians of Tyre and Paul and his companions, and was peculiarly appropriate to that occasion when a beloved pastor took his farewell of those to whom he had ministered for thirteen years as they were to go forth as missionaries of the cross.

On the 22d of October, 1695, being the usual lecture day in the town of Dorchester, Mass., and messengers having been invited from neighboring churches† to constitute a Council, or Provisional Presbytery, according to congregational usage, Rev. Joseph Lord‡ was duly set apart and ordained to the gospel ministry, and a church was organized, with him for its

* Archdale, p. 105; Oldmixon, p. 416, in Carrol, vol. ii.

† Of Boston, Milton, Newton, Charlestown, and Roxbury.

‡ Joseph Lord was of Charlestown, Mass. He had graduated at Harvard College four years before in the class of 1691, and was then teaching a school in Dorchester and studying theology with the pastor.—Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ix.

pastor, as a missionary church. One of the members was William Norman, from Carolina, who probably went on to Massachusetts for the purpose of encouraging and securing the execution of this missionary enterprise. The name of Norman still exists in the Midway congregation, Georgia, and the correspondence referred to from Carolina may be accounted for from the fact that the population of Dorchester, Mass., was from the counties of Devon, Dorset, and Somersetshire, England,* from which came also many, perhaps most of the dissenters then in Carolina. The text of Mr. Lord's sermon at his ordination was in accordance with the occasion and object in view. "Ye are the salt of the earth," Matt. v. 13. Their friends accompanied them to the place of embarkation, where they took leave of each other, "after kneeling down and mingling their supplications, with every expression of Christian tenderness." They embarked on the 5th of December, and set sail on the night of the 14th, in two small vessels, towards the land God had given them as an inheritance, not knowing whither they went. Not without peril and severe trial of their faith was the voyage accomplished. A severe gale was experienced soon after their embarkation, and one of the vessels came near being lost. A day of fasting and prayer was observed on board. One vessel arrived in about fourteen days, the other had a passage of near a month. "What an interesting sacred company did those two frail barks contain! Infancy, not knowing whither it went; youth, with all its joyousness; middle age, with all its conscious weight of responsibility; the old and the young, the strong and the weak, the protector and the protected; a sacred company—aye, sacred, because they were *a whole church of Christ*, with their chosen, consecrated pastor in their midst."† Threading their way up the Ashley river, in quest of a convenient place for settlement, they fixed upon a spot which they named after Dorchester, in Massachusetts, which was named after Dorchester, in England, whence their first minister came. Here, in the midst of an unbroken forest inhabited by beasts of prey and savage men, twenty miles from the dwellings of any whites, they took up their abode. The Westoes and Stonos were the

* The church of Dorchester, Mass., was composed of a company of Puritans gathered out of these several counties, who, early in 1630, met at the new hospital in Plymouth, England; and after a day of fasting and prayer, elected the Rev. John Warham of Exeter, and Rev. John Maverick, to be their pastors, and resolved to settle in New England. They sailed on the 30th of March, 1630, and arrived in about two months, encountering many hardships in the waste howling wilderness to which they came.

† Sheldon's Discourse on the 150th anniversary of the Dorchester church.

two most powerful tribes around them, and were at this time very hostile, so that the settlers, as they erected their dwellings, were obliged to station their sentinels to watch the foe. They did not fail in their duties to God. Shortly after their arrival, on the 2d of February, 1696, under the spreading branches of an oak, which still stands,* stretching out its weather-beaten limbs, affording a shelter to the living and to the resting-places of the dead, they celebrated the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and renewed their vows and thanksgivings to Christ their Saviour. Never have their descendants failed in religious duty, nor when their country called them either to do or suffer. Though they migrated to a neighboring State in the middle of the next century, they were the first there to embark in the struggle of the Revolution, and sent their delegate on horseback to Philadelphia to represent them in Congress, when the State of Georgia had not yet decided to abandon the royal cause.

The communion above referred to has been said to be the first sacrament of the Lord's Supper ever administered in the colony,† and the Dorchester church the first *organized* Congregational church in the State. Both these statements are open to adverse criticism. St. Philip's (Episcopal) church was earlier by several years. The first Episcopal minister in the province, Atkin Williamson, was here as early as 1680, and the second, Samuel Marshall, came in 1696.

The second statement can only be true if the church now called "THE CIRCULAR CHURCH," but known in its earlier records as "THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH," were Presbyterian strictly. Dr. Ramsay argues that it was formed and constituted between 1680 and 1690. One reason for this declaration is the assertion in a letter written by this church in 1750 to Rev. Drs. Guise, Doddridge, and Jennings, "that upwards of sixty years ago they had been a church." Another is found in the consideration that a community, a large majority of whom were dissenters from the Church of England, and zealous in their religion, would not have remained very long without some religious organization. To this we may add, the residence of Rev. Thomas Barret, Makemie's correspondent, on Ashley river, in 1684-5, and Makemie's own attempt to remove here in 1684, to which he was drawn, probably, by knowing the existence here of a religious community desiring

* It had fallen and was fast decaying in 1859.

† Holmes, Annals, ii., p. 34; History of the Town of Dorchester, Mass., 1856, p. 263; Mallard's Short Account of the Cong. Ch., Midway, Ga., p. 4.

the services of a Presbyterian minister. Benjamin Pierpont, the first regular pastor of this church of whom we read, "was graduated at Harvard University, in 1689, and emigrated from near Boston, in 1691,* with a select company, to found an independent church in South Carolina. He died near Charleston in 1698, aged about thirty."† Of his successor, Mr. Adams, probably from the same region of country, we know nothing. Of John Cotton, his successor, a more ample history might be given. He was son of the celebrated John Cotton of Boston; was graduated at Harvard, in 1657, at the age of seventeen years and four months. From 1664 to 1667 he preached as a missionary to the Indians on Martha's Vineyard, in whose language he became a proficient. In November, 1667, he removed to Plymouth, where for thirty years he preached to the descendants of the Pilgrim fathers. Some difference of opinion arising between him and his church, he was dismissed October 5th, 1697. He was invited to South Carolina, and set sail for Charleston, November 15th, 1698, where, say the authorities we have consulted, he gathered a church, and labored with great diligence and success till his death, which occurred September 18th, 1699. During his brief ministry of nine months, twenty-five were added to the church, and many were baptized. In his labors he was very abundant and successful, as appears from a daily journal kept by him, which yet exists among his descendants.‡ The existing records of this church

* He was the fifth son of John Pierpont of Roxbury, Mass. Born at Roxbury (as supposed) July 26th, 1668, died at Charleston, S. C., January 3d, 1697 (1698), where he had been for some time preaching. He died without issue.

† American Biographical Dictionary, by William Allen, D.D.

‡ John Cotton was born on the 13th of March, 1640. For some reason he was excommunicated by his father's church, May, 1664, but was soon restored. He preached first at Guilford, Mass. He was eminent for his acquaintance with the Indian language. He hired an Indian for his instructor at twelve pence a day for fifty days; but his teacher, before twenty days elapsed, having received his whole pay, deserted him. He found means, however, of perfecting himself in it, and frequently preached to the Indians, who lived in several congregations in his neighborhood. The whole care of revising Elliot's Indian Bible fell on him. He died, according to Cotton Mather, who was his nephew, of yellow fever: "the horrible plague of Barbados was brought into Charlestown by an infected vessel." "It had been there little above a fortnight before many above an hundred were dead." He had eleven children, five of whom died young. Four of his sons were graduates of Harvard, three of whom were ministers of the gospel,—John at Yarmouth, Rowland at Sandwich, Theophilus at Hampton Falls.—American Quarterly Register, vol. x., p. 246; Allen's Amer. Biog. Dict., p. 268; Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv.; Magnalia, iii.; Holmes; Savage, Genealog. Dict. of N. England.

do not ascend to so early a date. The first records were destroyed in the hurricane in the fall of 1713, which beat upon the house of Rev. Mr. Livingston, who then lived on the spot occupied by the battery, at the foot of East Bay; and we are dependent on these northern sources for information. According to these both Mr. Pierpont and Mr. Cotton organized the church—the one in 1691, the other in 1698. The probability is, that these statements are either not perfectly accurate, but refer to the revival of the church organization under these different ministers, or have reference, the one or the other, to the organization of a church in the country near Charleston, (at Wappetaw, in the New England colony?). As to the time of the erection of the first house of worship for the Dissenters in Charlestown, we have no certain data which enable us to determine. It was very early. In the deed of gift, bearing date October 23d, 1704, by which “Madame Symonds” conveyed the land on which the meeting-house stands, it is said, “And whereas the *Protestant Dissenters* of the southern part of the province have for many years since built a meeting-house on said plot of ground.” These “many years since” would suggest to us a time considerably earlier than the arrival of Mr. Pierpont in 1691. The preamble also to the act for building a new church, bearing date December 18th, 1729, commences thus: “Whereas the present Publick Meeting-house in Charleston, which in the early times, or *beginning of the settlement thereof*, was erected for the publick worship of God, after the *Presbyterial form and discipline*, is now by long time gone to decay, and become old and out of repair,” &c. These passages would intimate a very early date for the erection of the house of worship, perhaps as early as, or earlier than, that assigned by Dalcho for St. Philip’s. It was a wooden edifice, and long known as “The White Meeting.” The Calvinistic church of French Protestants, Dalcho allows, was built before 1693. The Quaker meeting-house, whose erection was promoted by Governor Archdale, was built, according to this authority, in about 1696. A Baptist church was organized about 1685,* and its first pastor was Rev. William Screven, who began his labors in the province about the year 1693.

* Rev. Wood Furman, in his History of the Charleston Association, dates the organization of this church in about 1683. This is the date of the first Baptist emigration into the province. “They came,” says he, “in separate colonies, about the year 1683, partly from the west of England, with Lord Cardross and Mr. Blake, and partly from Piscataway, in the district of Maine. Of the former



In "the White Meeting," the Presbyterians, whether English, Irish, or Scotch, and the Independents, worshipped together. Those of English origin were accustomed at home already, by force of persecution, to see their own discipline imperfectly practised. Philip Henry, the father of the commentator, had no session in the church he gathered in his own house at Broad Oak. His son Matthew had none in his church. And the times were such as to render a private ordination in his own case most eligible. His ordainers were Presbyterian ministers of London, six in number, who performed the service in private, and gave him the following certificate: "We, whose names are subscribed, are well assured, that Mr. Matthew Henry is an ordained minister of the gospel. *Sic Testor.*" To which were attached their signatures, and the date, "May 9th, 1687."* From the Act of Uniformity to 1694, it is not known that there was a single public ordination among the Dissenters in England. At this latter date the Presbyterians began to ordain publicly several candidates at the same time, probably in imitation of Episcopal ordinations, and consequently not in the congregations where they were to minister. In 1690, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists in and about London drew up "heads of agreement" for the maintenance of friendly intercourse between their ministers and churches. And in addition, there was a board at the metropolis, consisting of the most influential men of these denominations, who watched over their general interests, as dissenters from the Established Church; and before the accession of Queen Anne the Baptists also began to act in concert with them, so that when she ascended the throne the three denominations united in a joint address to her majesty. The Presbyterians were represented, because of their superior numbers, by two delegates to one of each of the other denominations. All these things tended to wear away the distinctive peculiarities of Presbyterian government in the English Presbyterian church, and among those who migrated from that church to America.

some settled about Ashley and Cooper rivers, others about the mouth of the Edisto river. The latter settled at a place called Summerton, situated on Cooper river, and at a small distance from Charleston. Here they were formed into a church under the care of the Rev. William Screven." As to the emigration with Lord Cardross, we had supposed it was entirely Presbyterian. It is more probable that the earliest English Baptist emigration was with Mr. Blake, whose wife, and her mother, Lady Axtell, Mr. Furman informs us, were Baptists.—Furman's History of the Baptist Association, pp. 5, 55, 68.

* See Memoir prefixed to his Commentary.

As we have now reached the close of the sixteenth century, and of the third decade of the history of South Carolina, it will not be amiss to take a review of several points touching her general, and more especially her ecclesiastical history.

Population.—This was computed to be, in 1700, between five and six thousand whites, besides Indians and negroes.* Of these, as late as 1706, it was said, " 'Tis notorious that above two-thirds of the people of Carolina are Dissenters." The Rev. Mr. Marston, of the Church of England, in a letter to Rev. Dr. Stanhope, says of them, that they are "the soberest, most numerous, and richest people of the province."†

Extent of Territory occupied, and Political Divisions.—On the northeast, the French settlements on the Santee seem to have been the utmost limits to which population had reached. On the southwest, after the Scotch were broken up and driven in from Port Royal, the population seems not to have extended far beyond the Edisto river. The chief settlement being at Wilton, then called New London, in the vicinity of which were the plantations of Gov. Morton, of Landgrave Axtell, and Paul Grimball.

In the interior, the settlements of the French reached no further than the neighborhood of Lenud's Ferry on the Santee, and the church and congregation of Dorchester was the remotest settlement in the interior on the banks of the Ashley, and for a considerable time far distant from any other settlement of the whites. The province was divided under Gov. Morton into three counties, named after three of the proprietors. Craven extended on the sea-coast from the North Carolina line to the Sewee river; Berkley extended from the Sewee to Stono Creek; Colleton extended on the coast from Stono Creek southward. These counties were understood to be bounded in the interior by a line parallel with the coast and thirty-five miles from it.

Churches.—These, as we gather from the preceding, were of five denominations of Christians.

Episcopalian.—Two churches. 1. St. Philip's, Charlestown. First minister in the colony, Atkin Williamson, whose arrival was prior to 1680. Erection of house of worship: 1690, Ramsay; 1682, Dalcho, Rivers. Second

* Hewatt, p. 132; Rivers, p. 216, who concurs in Hewatt's statement, and regards as incorrect the assertion in Humphrey's Historical Account, in which the white population in 1701 is said to be above 7,000 persons.

† "Case of Dissenters," quoted by Oldmixon, p. 430; vol. ii. of Carroll's Historical Collections, p. 430, and by Rivers, p. 217.

minister, Samuel Marshall, appointed to this church in 1696, died 1696.

2d Church, Goose Creek. First clergyman, Rev. William Corbin. He arrived in the province in the year 1700, and left in 1703. His successor, Mr. Thomas, two years after, found here but five communicants. It appears to be quite uncertain whether the church here was an organized Episcopal church before Mr. Corbin's arrival. The first house of worship for Episcopal service, out of Charleston, was built on Pompion Hill, in the parish of St. Thomas and St. Denis, in 1703.*

Presbyterian. French Huguenots.—1. The Huguenot church in Charlestown. Date of its migration, 1686. Pastors, Elias Prioleau and Florent Philip Trouillart.

2. The Huguenot church on the Eastern Branch of Cooper river, 1686 or 1687. First minister, De la Pierre.

3. The Huguenot church on the Santee. Date of settlement, 1686 or 1687. First pastor, Pierre Robert, of the Waldensians of Piedmont.

4. The Huguenots of Goose Creek. This was a small handful of people, under the pastoral care of Florent Philip Trouillart.

Mixed Presbyterian and Independent Church.—This church was composed of Presbyterians, chiefly from Scotland and Ireland, Congregationalists from Old and New England, and French Huguenots, who were strictly Presbyterian in their form of government, and had been recently driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, has been known by various names: the Presbyterian church, the White Meeting, the Independent church, the New England Meeting, the Circular church. Date of church organization, previous to 1690, and between 1680 and 1690. Date of first church structure probably as early as 1690, and perhaps still earlier. First known minister in the province, and but as a temporary resident, Thomas Barret, 1685. First regular pastor, Benjamin Pierpont, 1691.

(Presbyterian church at Stuart-Town, composed of Lord Cardross's colony, and existing from 1683 to 1686. Minister, William Dunlop.)

Congregational church of Dorchester. Date, January, 1696. First pastor, Joseph Lord.

* Dalcho, 32, 33; Ibid., 284, 244-5.

Baptist church. Date, 1685. First pastor, William Screven, 1693.

Quaker Meeting. Date, 1696.

During the period over which we have passed, the governors of the colony were sometimes of the Church of England and sometimes Dissenters. The first governor, Sayle, was a Presbyterian, so probably was his successor, West; Jos. Morton was, it is supposed, either a Presbyterian or Congregationalist. Thos. Smith and Joseph Blake, Presbyterians, and John Archdale a Quaker. Of Joseph West, Prof. Rivers says, in high commendation, "In a government carefully planned to be an aristocracy, and under the fostering direction of a distinguished nobility in England, he, a plebeian, faithful, wise, and modest, became for fifteen years the guiding spirit of all that was good and successful." Gov. Morton "was a man of a sober and religious temper of mind," had married the sister of Joseph Blake and had increased his personal influence by this alliance, and was connected with several other respectable families in the colony. Much was hoped from his government in checking the more irregular and licentious of the people. But his council were of a different mind from himself, and thwarted him in his endeavors to carry out the instructions of the proprietors. Thomas Smith came into the colony in 1671, with his brother James, who afterwards removed to Boston. He was one of the earliest citizens of Charlestown,* and had been induced to emigrate to this country, from Exeter, in Devonshire, England, the place of his birth, from religious motives, and for the enjoyment of civil liberty. He was possessed of large estates, having received various grants from the proprietors, and accumulated more by good management. He held other estates by his marriage with the widow of John D'Arsens, who was the owner of 12,000 acres by grant of the proprietors. He had been deputy in council, sheriff of Berkley county, and been chosen to succeed Colleton in 1690, but did not enter upon the office, Sothell having meanwhile arrived and claimed the authority. He was made landgrave in 1691, with 48,000 acres of land, and much being hoped from his acquaintance with the colony, and his great personal influence, he was made governor in 1693. He encountered the same difficulties with his predecessors, from the confused and turbulent state of the colony, and the conflicts between the proprietors and the settlers. These difficulties arose about the

* Thomas and James Smith held lots 41 and 57 in the original plan of the city.

tenure of lands, the collection of quit-rents, and various matters touching the order of judicial procedure and popular elections. One of the chief controversies was as to the rights and privileges to be enjoyed by the Huguenots. While treated kindly by the proprietors, they met with a less hospitable treatment here than among any other Protestant people. The old hostility of the English to the French seemed to be revived. They were told that the marriages solemnized by their ministers were illegal, because these ministers were not episcopally ordained, that their children were therefore illegitimate, that their estates would be escheated, and not descend to them. They were not allowed to sit on juries, and other privileges belonging to citizenship were pertinaciously denied them. They were required to hold their worship at the same hour with the English church, although several of their congregation lived out of Charleston, and could reach the place only by water, and as the tide served, and for this reason their hour for public worship had varied as their convenience required. Of these things they complained to the proprietors in England for redress, whose instructions to the governors and deputies afforded them some measure of relief. This relief, however, was reluctantly accorded to them. When these proprietors issued orders to Gov. Ludwell, the predecessor of Smith, to allow six members of the Provincial Parliament from Craven county, which was settled by the Huguenots, there had arisen a great clamor. "Shall the Frenchmen," said the British colonists, "who cannot speak our language, make our laws?" Landgrave Smith at length wrote to the proprietors in utter despair, and informed them that he and many more had resolved to leave the province, and expressed his conviction that nothing would restore harmony unless they sent out one of the proprietors to redress grievances. To Governor Smith is ascribed the process of drawing juries in South Carolina, by a little boy under ten years of age, from a box in which the names of the freeholders are placed; but, this again has been questioned.* He has the credit also of introducing the culture of rice into the colony, which has been so great a source of its wealth,—having received the seed from the captain of a brigantine on its way from Madagascar to Britain. He took pains to have it distributed and cultivated in different soils, until the means of its successful culture were ascertained. He was the founder of a family which contrib-

* Rivers, p. 161.

uted much, in succeeding generations, to the advancement of the church. His suggestion was followed by the proprietors, and the Quaker governor, Archdale, was sent out, whose administration was a popular and successful one, though he was not able to accomplish all that he desired. He was a kind and pious man, and sought the good of the colony and of the Indian tribes by which it was surrounded. He appointed Joseph Blake, son of the Joseph Blake before mentioned, as governor, under whose administration the French refugees, and other aliens, were instated in all the rights of Englishmen, and have ever since lived in the utmost harmony with them.

These disturbances, however, had their effect. "A number of French refugees," wrote the proprietors, April, 1698, "had recently proposed to settle upon Port Royal, but were retarded upon hearing of the unhappy commotions among those already settled." Their attachment too was still great to their king and country, notwithstanding the dreadful persecutions they had encountered. They desired to be under French laws in the New World, if they might not be in the old. As Bienville, in 1699, was ascending the Mississippi, he met an English vessel which was sounding the bed of the river, with the intention of colonizing that region. William of Orange was bent upon it, and expressed a willingness to send over several hundred Huguenots and Vaudois at his own expense. This vessel was one of two sent out by Coxe, a London physician, who had bought the old patent of Carolina granted to Sir Robert Heath in 1630, and under the encouragement of William was claiming a right to the mouth of the Mississippi. These vessels had landed in Carolina a body of French emigrants before proceeding to the Gulf of Mexico. Bienville assured the English captain that this was not the Mississippi, but a dependence of Canada belonging to the French, as was proved by the establishments they had already made. The Englishman turned back and desisted from the enterprise. The place of the interview is still called "English Turn." While Bienville was on the English ship, a French engineer, who was employed on board, delivered to him a document which he begged him to send to the court of Versailles. It was a memoir, signed by four hundred families, which had taken refuge in Carolina. They asked the privilege of settling in Louisiana on the sole condition of liberty of conscience. Ponchartrain replied from Paris that "the king has not driven Protestants from France

to make a republic of them in America."* This rude reply seems to have put an end to their longing for La Belle France and its institutions as transferred to the New World. And the recovery of their rights under Gov. Blake brought with it contentment under Anglo-Saxon rule.

Governor Blake, though a Puritan and a Dissenter,† possessed a liberal spirit towards all Christians. During his administration a bill was introduced into the General Assembly appropriating to Samuel Marshall, a pious and learned man, then the Episcopal minister of Charlestown, and his successors forever, a salary of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, together with a house, glebe, and two servants. At the same time Mrs. Afra Coming gave to the church seventeen acres of land, adjoining Charles Town, and now within it, which constitute the present glebe of St. Michael's and St. Philip's.‡ Thus closed the first thirty years of the colony of South Carolina, in which the first difficulties of a settlement in a distant wilderness, among savage tribes, and in an unhealthy clime, had been surmounted; in which there had been, indeed, much confusion and turmoil, and many differences between the proprietary government and the people; in which, however, the principles of popular liberty had always obtained the victory, and in which the foundations of the church in most of the denominations now represented in it had been laid.

* Gayaré, *Hist. of Louisiana*, vol. i., p. 69; Hildreth, *U. S.*, ii., p. 222; Bancroft, ii., p. 202.

† He was one of the earliest donors to the church of the Dissenters (now the Circular) in Charleston, having given, on the 20th of June, 1695, £1,000 sterling to that church.

‡ Dalcho, pp. 33, 34, 35, and Hewatt, 126, 127.

BOOK FOURTH.

A. D. 1700-1710.

CHAPTER I.

AT the commencement of the eighteenth century we find but little done towards the organization of churches among the population of British origin strictly Presbyterian in their form of government. The French Huguenot churches, besides their pasteurs, had their anciens or surveillans—*i. e.*, their elders or overseers, and perhaps their diacres or deacons, from the first.* The pastor and elders constituted the consistory or session of the church.† The deacon's office was to collect and distribute, by the advice of the consistory, moneys to the poor, sick, and prisoners, and to visit and take care of them.‡ Whether their ministers in this country met in colloquy or presbytery, according to the order of the national church of France,§ is not a matter of record. It is most probable that the exigencies of their condition in these new settlements would render such meetings irregular if they existed, and yet in the many troubles which assailed them, the need of mutual counsel and encouragement must have been felt. Their worship was liturgical, according to the ideas of Calvin, whose liturgy, established in 1543, constitutes the foundation of all the liturgies of the Reformed

* See Article xxxi. of the Confession of the Reformed churches of France, adopted by the first National Synod held in Paris in 1559. "This confession was also signed and ratified in the national synod at Rochelle, in 1571 (the year before the Massacre of St. Bartholomew), by Jane, Queen of Navarre; Henry, Prince of Berne; Henry de Bourbon, Prince of Condé; Louis, Count Nassau; and Sir Gaspard de Coligni, Lord High Admiral of France. Of this confession, according to Quick, there were three originals on parchment; one kept at Geneva, one at Pau in Berne, and the third in the archives of the City of Rochelle."—Report of Committee on the Revision of the Liturgy of the French Protestant church of Charleston, by Daniel Ravenel, chairman, Charleston, 1853.

† Discipline of the Reformed Church of France, chap. v., canon i., in Quick's Synodicon, p. xxx.

‡ Chap. iii., canon iv.

§ Chap. vii., canon i. See also Aymon Synodes Nationaux, pp. 1-7, where the original articles of the first national synod of Paris are given. In Quick they are given as subsequently enlarged, and drawn into xiv. chapters, or sections, containing 222 articles.

Church of France. The one now in use in the Huguenot church of Charleston was first put forth in 1713 by the churches in the principality of Neufchâtel and Valangin, to which various additions have been made.

Presbyterians and Congregationalists of British extraction had worshipped together in CHARLESTON under the pastoral supervision of Pierpont, Adams, and Cotton, in harmony and peace, little solicitous, probably, of those differences of church government which respectively distinguish them, and with a frank and catholic feeling as yet unmingled with jealousy towards the Established Church of England. Indeed a large proportion of the Congregational churches of New England differed but slightly in their special individual organizations from churches of the Presbyterian faith. The church of Plymouth, of which Mr. Cotton was pastor for thirty years, had its ruling elders, with whom he was incessantly occupied in visiting his flock, in catechizing the children, and in attendance upon church meetings. Elder Brewster, himself educated at Cambridge, England, accompanied the church when it sailed from Leyden, and landed on Plymouth Rock; and the graves of the elders of that church are marked by a specific designation on Burial Hill, where are interred the remains of the Pilgrim Fathers in that Mecca of New England, to which her sons are wont to make at least one pilgrimage. The pattern of church government, as laid down by John Owen, who was the contemporary of these colonists, and died August 24th, 1683, was not far removed from moderate Presbyterianism. Few have argued as conclusively as he for the office of the ruling elder, and his views as to the powers of synods* are many degrees removed from those of the Brownists, the advocates of *strict* independency. We cannot suppose that there had arisen, therefore, as yet, among the Dissenters in Charleston, any special zeal on the subject of church government. Whether their original ecclesiastical organization was strictly congregational or not in its theory, or Presbyterian after the English form, the absence of all written monuments renders us unable to decide. Outside of the French Protestant churches we know of the existence of no ruling elders: we are not even informed as to the existence of the office of deacon, which in many respects has usurped its place in churches of the Congregational order of our own times; and yet one or the other class of officers there must have been.

* See his True Nature of a Gospel Church.

The CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH at DORCHESTER held on its way among the discouragements incident to settlement in a new country. A letter of Rev. Joseph Lord, their pastor, to Judge Samuel Sewall, of Boston, the original of which is in possession of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, in the antique abbreviated writing of that day, speaks of the general state of affairs at this period :

"They seem," he says, "not near so encouraging as they did six years ago. It is true the country is more frequented by way of trade than formerly; but our tar and rice take up so much room, that a cargo of Barbadoes commodities (and of the commodities of some other places) is worth so much more than a cargo of others, that our trade is like to leave the country moneyless. We have been favored by God's providence beyond expectation in our freedom from annoyance from the Spaniards, especially considering we, so soon after the proclamation of war, began with them; and this freedom I think the most ground of encouragement to expect the carrying on the work of Christ in these ends of the earth (next to the promise of the Father), that I can take notice of. For why should Christ give us (an undeserving as well as a much-exposed people) so much peace in time of war if he has no work to be carried on here? We have no reason to suppose it is because we are less sinful than others. The means of safety are partly the Indians that dwell about Wachessy Creek, who are, the most of them, such as formerly left the Spaniards, and are great enemies to them, but friends to the English; but among them are some Westoes, which, in all probability, are a remnant of the Pequods, that escaped when the rest were destroyed in New England." His statements about these Indians are interesting. They had joined with the Savannas, which came into those parts "about twenty-five years ago," and "the Ammesees that fled from the Spaniards" and came to dwell near the English; that these had made inroads upon the Spanish Indians, took many prisoners, killed many, and some Spaniards; had fallen "upon the Tymychaws" (probably the tribe of which Tomachichi, the friend of Oglethorpe, was afterwards a chief). He closes thus: "But as to the gospelizing of these Indians, or any others in these parts, I doubt there is little hope, because the traders, that go among them, and converse with them, are so much like heathens themselves. Yet, if it should please God to work upon some of these traders, as he has lately done upon one, there might be some hopes of something to be done, if we were all furnished with ministers as New England is. But neither are our circumstances much more encouraging this way than those of the Indians: but God is able to raise up instruments for his work (and Is., li. 1, 2, 3, may encourage us to expect it). The obligations you have laid upon me, have drawn these things from me, who am,

"Your honor's humble servant,

"JOSEPH LORD."

Dorchester in Carolina, Mar. 25, 1706.

[In Judge Sewall's writing.—"Rec'd, April 19, 1706."]

There occurred, however, at this juncture, an event which, in its consequences, developed more and more those strictly Presbyterian elements which lay dormant.

In 1698 the enthusiasm of the Scotch nation was greatly roused by the splendid project of planting a New Caledonia on the Isthmus of Darien. They had been led on to this by

a man by the name of Patterson, of whose origin little appears to be known. By some he is represented as a man of no education, but by others he is spoken of as having been bred for the church, and as having gone forth to the New World with the alleged purpose of converting the Indians of America to the Christian faith. In his travels he became acquainted with Captain Dampier and Mr. Wafer, who afterwards published, the one his voyages, the other his travels in the regions of the Isthmus connecting North with South America. From these gentlemen he obtained much information, and more from his familiarity with those bold buccaneers who had made these coasts their haunts, and who had crossed and recrossed from ocean to ocean hundreds of times, driving strings of mules laden with treasure and plunder which they had collected. He became acquainted with the fact that there was a tract of country from the Atlantic to the Pacific never possessed by the Spaniards, but inhabited by independent tribes; that a belt of islands lay along the coast, one of them the Isle of Pines, and that midway between Porto Bello and Carthagena there was a natural harbor, at a place called Acta, capable of holding the largest fleets; that there are natural harbors on the Pacific side; that the two seas were connected by a ridge of hills, producing a delightful temperature in a sultry clime; that the soil was of almost unsurpassed fertility, and that this place was pointed out by nature as the centre, and the transit of commerce between Asia and Europe. He knew, too, that by taking advantage of the trade-winds navigation would be easier and far safer to and from this region. He believed that the same winds which carried ships to Darien, would waft them from Panama to the East Indies. He conceived the idea, therefore, of forming a great and powerful colony at this point, under the protection of some great nation, who would shelter it in its infancy, and be enriched by it in return. His first intention was to offer it to England, but he was without friends there on whom he might depend. He, however, engaged in the project of erecting the Bank of England, of which he became a director, and rendered great service to this institution, for which he was poorly requited. He subsequently visited the continent, and offered his project to the Dutch, the Hamburgers, and the Elector of Brandenburg. On his return to England, through Mr. Fletcher of Salton, a wealthy and intelligent gentleman, and an enthusiastic Scotchman, he became introduced to several Scotch noblemen of distinction, who, in June, 1695, procured an act of Parliament, and afterwards a

charter from the crown, for creating a trading company to Africa and the New World, with power to plant colonies, with the consent of the inhabitants, in places not in the possession of other nations. The Scotch nation became infatuated with the dazzling project, and, as Lord Dalrymple expresses it, their frenzy (?) to sign the solemn league and covenant never exceeded the rapidity with which they ran to subscribe to the Darien Company. The nobility, the gentry, the merchants, the people, the royal burghs, without the exception of one, and most of the other public bodies, subscribed. Young women threw their little fortunes into the stock, widows sold their jointures to get the command of money for the same purpose. Almost in an instant, £400,000 were subscribed in Scotland. Col. Erskine, son of Lord Cardross, and Mr. Haldane, of Gleneagle, the one an illustrious nobleman, the other a country gentleman of fortune, being appointed to obtain subscriptions abroad, the English subscribed £300,000, and the Dutch and Hamburgers £200,000 more. We find our old acquaintance, William Dunlop, now principal of the University of Glasgow, a director of the company, and the professors of that learned society stockholders in the same.

William of Orange now, however, withdrew from the undertaking his countenance, and sent a memorial to Hamburg, disowning the same, and warning against all connection with it; and in consequence of his opposition, the Dutch, Hamburg, and London merchants withdrew their subscriptions.

In proportion as they were opposed, the national persistency of the Scotch waxed stronger. The company proceeded to build six ships in Holland, of from thirty-two to sixty guns, and engaged twelve hundred men for the colony. Among them were the younger sons of many noble families in Scotland, and sixty disbanded officers, who carried with them such of their private men, raised on their own estates, as they knew to be faithful and brave, most of whom were Highlanders. "Neighboring nations, with a mixture of surprise and respect, saw the poorest kingdom of Europe sending forth the most gallant and the most numerous colony that had ever gone from the Old to the New World."

They sailed from the port of Leith, amidst the tears, prayers, and praises of their excited countrymen, on the 25th of July, 1698. Many seamen and soldiers, whose services had been refused, the complement having been made up, were found hid in the ships, and when ordered ashore clung to the ropes and timbers, imploring that they might go even without re-

ward. Twelve hundred men sailed in five stout ships, and arrived at Darien in two months. They purchased lands of the natives, sent messages of friendship to the nearest Spanish governors, fixed the settlement at Acta, calling it Saint Andrew, after the tutelar saint of Scotland, and the country itself New Caledonia. They erected a fort, and planted on it fifty pieces of cannon, and, by the enlightened suggestion of Patterson, proclaimed freedom of trade and religion to all nations. Two Presbyterian ministers, Messrs. James and Scot, accompanied these first colonists, one of whom died at sea, and the other soon after their arrival. The Dutch East India Company, meanwhile, pressed the king to prevent the settlement of Darien: the English murmured, the House of Commons took up the popular clamor, and represented that the whole trade of England must be eventually destroyed by the privileges granted to the Scotch, that the situation of the colony would enable it to give law to America, and that the interest of all Europe required that it should be crushed. William listened to these representations, dismissed his Scotch ministers, and issued his orders to all his governors in America and the West Indies, to give no succors, and hold no correspondence with the new colony. The Scots had counted on supplies from the West Indies, and fell into great distress from bad food, or from absolute destitution. The generous savages of the coast hunted and fished for them, and did all they could to supply what their own countrymen denied. Bad food produced disease, the climate aided its ravages, the hardy mountaineers of Scotland perished, dying by dozens in a day. They remained at the settlement between seven and eight months without the least communication with Scotland, not a line having been received since their arrival. A vessel had been sent out from the Clyde in January, 1699, which was wrecked. At length, despairing of succor from their native country, they went on board their ships, and left Darien on the 20th of June, 1699. There were at that time scarcely a hundred men with strength and health enough to work them. Of the four vessels, one was abandoned at sea: the St. Andrew got into Jamaica, having lost her captain and one hundred men. The Caledonia and Unicorn got into New York, having lost three hundred men. Meanwhile the Spanish ambassador presented to the king a memorial, complaining of the settlement of Darien, and the king's proclamation had become known in Scotland. The Scots, notwithstanding, being as yet ignorant of the misfortunes of their colony, sent out an additional

colony of 1,300 men, in vessels inferior, and worse furnished. Two vessels, commanded by Captains Jamieson and Stack, preceded the rest with recruits of men and provisions, having on board about three hundred persons, and arrived in about eight weeks after the departure of the first colony, only to find a perfect waste and desolation. To add to their distress, one of these vessels, the provision-ship, took fire in the harbor, and was consumed. This party, too, took to their remaining vessel, and abandoned the colony. Afterwards came the main body of the second expedition, four vessels in all, the largest of which was the *Rising Sun*, carrying sixty guns, Captain Gibson commander. This fleet brought out about twelve hundred men. With them came Rev. Alexander Shields, Francis Borland, Alexander Dalgliesh, and Archibald Stobo, sent at the request of the directors of the company by the commission of the General Assembly, who drew up a specific commission, addressed by them to these ministers, as the Presbytery of Caledonia, and bearing date July 21, 1699. They were directed, on their arrival, to set apart a day for solemn public thanksgiving, to constitute themselves a Presbytery, with moderator and clerk, to appoint ruling elders and deacons, to divide the people into districts or parishes, and to hold parochial sessions and diets of Presbytery, as soon as the circumstances of the colony would allow. All this was to be done with the consent and advice of the civil council, and the consent of the people, which, it seemed to be supposed, could not be withheld. One of these ministers, Mr. Dalgliesh, died at sea, between Montserrat and Darien. The others arrived in health, and entered upon their work with more zeal than discretion. Their proposition for a day of thanksgiving, humiliation, and prayer, was acceded to by the councillors, though the paper setting forth the reasons had much to say of the flagitious lives of the colonists.* The day was observed, each of the three ministers preaching, and spending the whole time in religious exercises. They also preached on the Sabbath

* "It is too evident," they say, "many, both at home and abroad, engaged in the prosecution of this great enterprise, have been more influenced by their own selfish and worldly interests than by a zealous concern either for the glory of God or for the public honor and advantage of our nation. Secondly, that in the choice of instruments for promoting this noble design, there hath not been that tenderness and caution exercised which the case required, to admit and entertain none but such as were of honor and integrity, and fit to advance the religious as well as the civil design of this settlement; on the contrary, too many have been admitted into this service that are men of flagitious lives, and some of pernicious principles."

aboard their largest ship, the *Rising Sun*, and on shore. Their zeal and labors seem to have been abundant, but they complained greatly of the poor attendance upon their ministrations, and the little encouragement they received. One-third, they say, "are wild Highlanders, that cannot speak Scotch, which are barbarians to us, and we to them." They can do nothing for the Indians, having neither the language nor an interpreter; and they complain, in severe terms, of the profaneness, obscenity, drunkenness, and contempt of gospel ordinances of many among them.

Such was the language these clergymen used of their associates in this expedition. Men who have all their lives been isolated from promiscuous society, and look upon the world in merely a religious point of view, who are zealous for the glory of God, and indignant at the indifference and sins of men, are able to make but little allowance for those who are not actuated by high religious principle, and are tempted to visit them with unmeasured censure. On the other hand, they themselves have been visited in a spirit of unmeasured retaliation. Sir John Dalrymple, in his *Memoirs*, says, "Added to the misfortunes of the first colony, the second had a misfortune peculiar to itself. The General Assembly of the church of Scotland sent out four ministers with orders," &c. "When they arrived, the officers and gentlemen were occupied in building houses for themselves with their own hands, because there was no help to be got from others; yet the four (3?) ministers complained grievously that the council did not order houses to be immediately built for their accommodation. They had not had the precaution to bring with them letters of recommendation from the directors at home to the council abroad. On these accounts, not meeting with all the attention they expected from the higher, they paid court to the inferior ranks of the colonists, and by that means threw divisions into the colony. They exhausted the spirits of the people, by requiring their attendance at sermons four or five hours at a stretch, relieving each other by preaching alternately, but allowing no relief to their hearers. The employment of one of the days set aside for religious exercises, which was a Wednesday, they divided into three parts—thanksgiving, humiliation, and supplication, in which three ministers followed each other. And as the service of the church of Scotland consists of a lecture with a comment, a sermon, two prayers, three psalms, and a blessing, the work of that day, upon the average of the length of the service of that age, could not take up less than twelve hours,

during which space of time the colony was collected, and kept close together in the guard-room, which was used as a church, in a tropical climate and in a sickly season. They damped the courage of the people by continually presenting hell to them as the termination of life to most men, because most men are sinners. Carrying the Presbyterian doctrine of predestination to extremes, they stopped all exertions by showing that the consequences of them depended not on those by whom they were made. They converted the numberless accidents to which soldiers and seamen are exposed into immediate judgments of God against their sins.”*

In this unfriendly and retaliatory way were the services of these zealous ministers spoken of by those who were evidently hostile to the truth. The services of these clergymen may have been, and doubtless were, too protracted. But the day of public thanksgiving, humiliation, and prayer, which was but a single Wednesday, is here held up as if this was the common and weekly method of service. Here is the old strife between the church and the world, carried out on both sides with many of the infirmities of our fallen nature.

The last party that joined the second colony, after it had been settled for some three months, was Captain Campbell of Finab, who was descended from the families of Breadalbane and Athole, with a company of people from his own estate whom he had commanded in Flanders, and whom he brought over in his own ship. He had no sooner arrived than news came that the Spaniards were marching against them, and that a party, 1,600 strong, lay encamped at Tubucantee, awaiting the arrival of a fleet of eleven ships, when they were to attack the settlement by sea and by land. The command being given to Captain Campbell, he marched with 200 men and fell upon the Spanish camp by night and drove them before him. Five days after his return the Spanish fleet hove in sight, and landed their troops, but after a siege of about six weeks—the ammunition being almost expended, most of the officers dead, their supply of water cut off—they capitulated with all the honors of war, and hostages for the observance on the part of the Spaniards of the conditions. The poor remnants of the Scotch colony then made arrangements to leave, but they were so reduced by disease and unwholesome food, that they found great difficulty in getting under way, and but for the assistance of the Spaniards, their largest vessel,

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. iii., pp. 136, 137.

the Rising Sun, would have been lost in the harbor itself. They then commenced their homeward passage in seven vessels, making their way first to the nearest British colonies. Some of them reached Spanish ports and were well treated, English ports showed them little kindness. Of the seven vessels, only Captain Campbell's and one other reached home. Great numbers died on the homeward passage, and of the entire colony not more than thirty, saved from pestilence, war, shipwreck, and famine, ever saw their own country again. The Rev. Alexander Shields died in Jamaica of a malignant fever, and two students of divinity who had accompanied the expedition. On board the Rising Sun malignant fevers and fluxes prevailed, and many died. And to complete this chapter of disasters, this vessel encountered a gale off the coast of Florida, which brought them into great distress. They made for the port of Charleston under a jury-mast, and while lying off Charleston bar, waiting to lighten the vessel that she might be got into port, a hurricane arose, in which she went to pieces, and every person on board perished.* Rev. Mr. Stobo had, however, been waited upon by a deputation from the church in Charleston, and invited to preach in the pulpit which had been vacated by the death of Mr. Cotton, while the Rising Sun should be waiting for supplies, and had gone up to Charleston with the deputation the day before.† Lieutenant Graham, James Byars, David Kennedy, Lieutenant Durham, Ensign John Murray, Ensign Robert Colquhoun, William Bready, John Spence, James

* "A tradition prevails, that about the year 1700 a large vessel, supposed to be the Rising Sun, with 346 passengers on board, came without a pilot up Sampit Creek to the place where Georgetown now stands; but finding no inhabitants there but Indians, the captain made for Charleston. On his arriving near the bar, he was boarded by a pilot, who told him that his vessel could not enter the harbor without lightening. The captain being in distress, sent his long-boat with the Rev. Mr. Stobo and some others to solicit assistance. Before the boat returned a hurricane took place, in which the vessel and every soul on board were lost. Tradition states further, that the same hurricane broke open the north inlet, and that previously there had been only one inlet from the sea to Winyaw bay. That a vessel came over Georgetown bar without a pilot which could not cross Charleston bar with one, if true, is very remarkable. It is rendered probable from the circumstance that the bar of Georgetown has from that time to the present been constantly growing worse."—Statistical Account of Georgetown, appended to Ramsay's History, vol. ii., 590, Charleston, 1809.

† Another story is, that he was sent for to perform the marriage ceremony for a couple who desired to be married by a Presbyterian minister. Nothing was saved to him but his Bible and Psalm-book, which he brought up with him.—Letter of T. Stobo Farrow.

Dick, Alexander Hendric, John Miker (a boy), James Pickens, and Mrs. Stobo went up at the same time, and were preserved. Captain Gibson, the commander of this vessel, was among those who were lost, and this was regarded by many in Scotland the retribution of heaven upon him for his cruel conduct towards those poor prisoners whom he transported to this same Carolina in 1684. "In the very same place," says Mr. Borland, the historian of the Darien colony, "it pleased the Sovereign Lord of heaven and earth to call him in so terrible a manner to his account." Mr. Stobo himself, in a letter severely commented on by Sir John Dalrymple, and written to Mr. Borland shortly after this catastrophe, says: "I doubt not but you have heard how narrowly I escaped the judgment that came upon the Rising Sun; I and my wife were scarce well gone from her, when wrath seized upon her; and after our departure the storm came so sudden, that none could find the way to her. It was the Lord's remarkable mercy that we were not consumed in the stroke with the rest. They were such a rude company, that I believe Sodom never declared such impudence in sinning as they; any observant eye might see that they were running the way they went; hell and judgment was to be seen upon them and in them, before the time. You saw them bad, but I saw them worse; their cup was full, they could hold no more; they were ripe, they must be cut down with the sickle of his wrath.—Here I lost my books and all, and have only my life for a prey, with my skin as it were in my teeth."*

The idea of retributive justice in this life is a doctrine of divine revelation, and runs through all pagan religions. But the book of Job, in the Old Testament, occupies its conspicuous place to teach us caution in inferring peculiar criminality from peculiar misfortunes. And our Saviour's pregnant instructions to the Jewish people were: "Think ye that these men were sinners above all the Galileans, because they suffered these things? I tell you, nay, but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." Human nature is bad enough in all countries,

* 'THE HISTORY OF DARIEN, by the Rev. Mr. Francis Borland, sometime minister of Glassford, and one of the ministers who went along with the last colony to Darien; written mostly in the year 1700, while the author was in the American regions. To which is added, a Letter to his Parishioners.

Quæque ipse miserrima vidi,
—Hæc olim meminisse juvabit.

Deut. viii., 2, 15, 16.—*Thou shalt remember all the way, which the Lord thy God led thee, thro' the great and terrible wilderness, to humble thee, and to prove thee, and to do thee good at thy latter end.* Glasgow: Printed by JOHN BRYCE, 1779.

and under all circumstances; disappointments and calamities do not improve it, but reveal more glaringly its failings and its depravity, which are smoothed over and hidden in settled and polished society. These Scotch ministers were theoretical believers in the total depravity of the heart of man, but were not prepared to see it in its outward manifestations, and may not have been sufficiently aware that the same nature was shared by themselves, nor been ready enough to exclaim with John Bradford, when he saw a criminal led to execution,—“There goes John Bradford, but for the grace of God.”

Thus ended the Scotch colony at Darien, as disastrously as that of Lord Cardross at Port Royal. The one, however, was the feeble effort of a few persecuted men; the other the vigorous enterprise of the whole nation of Scotland. It cost them 1,000,000 of dollars, and the lives of 2,000 men. The jealousy of the Dutch and English shows its importance and its great results, had it been crowned with success.* It was the noblest project that had been undertaken since the days of Columbus—the working out of a shorter road for East India commerce, and the establishment of a great commercial colony on the Isthmus of Darien: a project which is revived in this our day, which has been the subject of much negotiation with other powers, of many schemes of canals and railroads, which many of our countrymen are now embarked in, but which the jealousy of England, the imbecility of local governments, and the physical difficulties which the nature of the country presents, have hitherto hindered.

It is interesting in this connection to notice the remarks of Sir John Dalrymple in his *Memoirs* in reference to our own country:

“If neither Britain singly, nor the maritime parts of England jointly, will treat with Spain for a passage across Darien, it requires no great gift of prophecy to foresee that the period is not very distant when, in order to procure the precious metals at once, without waiting for the slow returns of trade, the States of America, who were able to defy the fleets of England, and the armies of England and Germany, will seize the pass of Darien, and with ease, by violence, from the feeble dominion of Spain. Their next move, or perhaps rather part of the same move, will be to take possession of the Sandwich Islands in the South Seas, discovered by the immortal Captain Cook, where they will find provisions and salt enough, and besides these, swarms

* When the news of these disasters arrived, and the harsh treatment which the fugitives received from the hands of the English authorities in the West Indies and at New York was understood, the whole of Scotland was excited almost to frenzy, and nothing was talked of but a war with England, and a declaration that the throne of Scotland was forfeited by the conduct of William of Orange in this matter.

of mariners to sail in their ships. Stationed thus, in the middle, and on the east, and on the west sides of the new western world, the English Americans will form not only the most potent, but the most singular empire that has ever appeared; because it will consist, not in the dominion of a part of the land of the globe, but in the dominion of the whole ocean." * * * "On both sides of their continent, they will, during the wars of the European nations with each other, enjoy, under the sanction of neutral bottoms, the carrying trade of those nations from Europe to the one, and from India to the other side of the New World; and even during peace, they may enjoy the whole Indian trade of Europe, if they choose to exclude other nations from the benefit of the passage; in which event, the East India Companies of Europe will cease to be known, except by the territories which they possess in India. To all nations their empire will be dreadful, because their ships will sail wherever billows roll or winds can waft them; and because their people, capable of subsisting either almost wholly on the produce of the waters, by means of their fisheries, or on the plunder and contributions of mankind, if they choose to do so, will require few of their number to be employed in manufactures or husbandry at home; and therefore, like the ancient Spartans, who defied all the power of Persia, or the roving Normans, who pillaged the sea-coasts of Europe from Jutland to Dalmatia, the occupations of every citizen will lie, not in the common employments of peace, but in the powers of offence or defence alone. Whether they may have arts and letters will be a matter of chance. The Phœnician and Carthaginian rovers had, the present successors of those Carthaginians have them not now, and the northern rovers never had them. But if they shall be blest with arts and letters, they will spread civilization over the universe. If, on the other hand, they shall not be blessed with them, then they will once more plunge it into the same darkness, which nations have thrown upon each other, probably much oftener than history can tell. And when that happens, England, with all her glories and all her liberty, will be known only as a speck in the map of the world, as ancient Egypt, Sicily, Pontus, and Carthage are now. * * * It is however some comfort for those who feel for the cause of human nature, that if the States of America should, from the supineness of rulers and ministers, seize, and make the passage of Darien their exclusive property, the trading nations of the world would combine to wrest it from them. And as the men of this age have seen almost all Europe join, either actively or passively, to rear America into eminence, they may live to see all Europe join to pull her down again. And of all those powers, none (if future history can be judged of by past history) will be so ready to lend a helping hand to the work, as that very one to which she thinks she has lately owed the most."*

These words were written immediately after the war of the Revolution, and it is interesting to see how far, as a prophecy, these vaticinations have been accomplished. Already our

* *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland; from the Dissolution of the last Parliament of Charles II. till the capture of the French and Spanish Fleets, at Vigo.* By Sir John Dalrymple, Bart., Baron of the Exchequer, in Scotland, vol. iii., pp. 150-153. Sir John Dalrymple died in 1810, aged 84. He was born, therefore, in 1737, was a contemporary of these events, and obtained his knowledge of the Darien colony from the original documents of the Scottish African Trading Company, in the Advocate's Library and the Exchequer, Edinburgh. His first volume was published, in quarto, in 1771. The edition here quoted is the London edition of 1790, from the Smyth Library of the Theol. Seminary.

ships vex the most distant seas, and our mercantile marine equals, if it does not surpass that of Britain. We look from California upon the eastern coast of Asia. The Sandwich Islands have sought admission into this Union, but have been repulsed. Private citizens have sought to seize upon the Isthmus, but have been prevented by our government, which is endeavoring to secure a free transit of goods, not for itself, but for all nations. In several important respects, the anticipations are not fulfilled. We are an agricultural and manufacturing people. We have made progress in literature and the arts, and in many things have successfully competed with the nations of Europe. There is a higher destiny yet before us, if we remain a united people. Let us never acquire foreign possessions by force or fraud, so as to give offence to other nations. Let our influence abroad be beneficent and just, and we shall have all the greatness which the Scotch baronet, by the second-sight which he possessed equally with the fabled seers of his nation, has foreseen, without fulfilling his auguries of evil.

CHAPTER II.

MR. STOBO's ministry commenced in Charleston immediately after the disastrous shipwreck which occurred on the night of Sept. 3d, 1700. "He possessed," says Dr. Hewatt, who came into the province sufficiently early to know the estimation in which he was held, "those talents which render a minister conspicuous and respected. To his treasures of knowledge and excellent capacity for instruction, he added uncommon activity and diligence in the discharge of the various duties of his sacred function. No minister of the colony ever engrossed so universally the public favor and esteem." He resigned the pastoral charge of the congregation in Charleston in 1704. The plan of the city of Charleston, drawn by Crisp in 1704, exhibits the site of his residence as in King street, above Queen;* but whether he continued to reside in the city after he ceased to be pastor of the church, we are not able to say.

* See plan in Johnson's Traditions of the Revolution, published in Charleston, 1851, on page 2.

He is represented by Ramsay* as having founded several churches, particularly at Wilton, Pon-Pon, James Island, and Cainhoy. The date of these several organizations, in the absence of any ecclesiastical records, it is exceedingly difficult to fix. Mr. Stobo was pastor of the church at Wilton in 1728. His name, in his own handwriting, is appended to a formal agreement, drawn up by the Presbyterian worshippers at WILTON BLUFF; and, together with his, are the signatures of *four elders* and *six deacons*. This would imply that there was a Presbyterian church at that time in that place, fully officered and considerable in numbers. It is evident, from the same and other documents, that there was a congregation previously to that date. Indeed, it is contrary to all experience that a church demanding such a corps of officers could be gathered in a day. It implies, unless a most extraordinary effusion of God's Spirit should be enjoyed, either years of labor spent in sowing the seed, or a very large and homogeneous emigration of Christian people from a Christian land at nearly the same time. But Wilton, or New London, was one of the earliest settlements in the low country, and those who resided there were Christian people. They would desire the ordinances of the gospel, and were too far from Charleston to be always there for the worship of God; so that it is most probable that a church organization, more or less complete, existed there soon after Mr. Stobo retired from the pastorate of the Charleston church. A letter written from Charleston, June 1, 1710, six years after that time, says there are "five churches of British Presbyterians." The church of Pon-Pon was not one of these, since it was not organized so early. The church in Charleston being one, and Wilton one, the other three must be selected out of those of Cainhoy, James Island, John's Island, and Edisto. And the two declarations, that of Dr. Ramsay as to the agency of Mr. Stobo, and this of the letter-writer as to the number of Presbyterian churches in the province in 1710, argues much for the rapid growth of Presbyterianism, and for the activity and influence of Mr. Stobo.†

The Rev. William Livingston succeeded Mr. Stobo in Charleston in 1704. Whether he was from Scotland or Ireland is not

* History of the Independent Church, Charleston, pp. 12, 13.

† The name Stobo is not unknown among the sufferers of the Church of Scotland. Robert Stobo, of Evandale, was one of eight who were shot on the highway, as they were successively met by the king's soldiers, on their ingenuously declaring that they were coming down to hear sermon.—Wodrow, iii., 105.

known. The name of Livingston has been an honored one in the old country, as well as on these Western shores, from John Livingston, whose first sermon in the kirk of Shotts, June 20, 1630, was blest to the conversion of five hundred persons, down to his great-great-grandson John Henry Livingston, D. D. of the Theological School of New Brunswick, who died in 1825. Mr. Livingston's ministry extended down at least to 1720, and somewhat beyond, and the testimony of tradition is that he was a useful and worthy minister of Christ.* The church of which Mr. Stobo and Mr. Livingston were pastors, was the only place of worship for Presbyterians or Congregationalists in Charleston during this period, and was remembered in their benefactions.†

Of other Presbyterian or Congregational ministers in the colony, from 1700 to 1710, we have no knowledge. But in one way or another there seems to have been something done in religious instruction. Dr. Le Jeau, who was the second missionary sent out by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts into South Carolina, "transmitted to the society (in 1706) an account of the state of his parish (of Goose Creek) and other neighboring settlements, wherein he represented very earnestly (with something of the air of superiority of a Church of England minister), that it was the greatest pity imaginable to see how many various opinions had been spread there by a multitude of teachers and expounders of all sorts and persuasions; and yet he could find very few that understood Christianity, even as to the essential parts of it."‡ The people of St. Helens, in Port Royal Island, agreed in 1712 to have a resident minister of the Church of England, and called Mr. Guy, then assistant of Mr. Johnson, rector of Charlestown, and applied to the society, in compassion to their great wants, to allow him a salary. "Though there had been formerly some

* See Scottish Biographical Dictionary, Art. Livingston, and American Quarterly Register, vol. xii., Feb., 1840, pp. 217-233. Descendants of Rev. Wm. Livingston of Charleston, by the name of Tunno and Stewart, were living in Charleston and near Dorchester in 1815.

† 1704.—Frances Simonds, widow of Henry Simonds, planter, gave a lot of land, on which the old White Meeting was built, 100 by 130 feet,—agreeable to the designs of her husband, long before his decease. 1707.—Frances Simonds also bequeathed another plot of garden ground adjoining the preceding, and one large silver cup marked H. S.

‡ Humphrey, Hist. Acc. of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, London, 1730. This society was incorporated by William of Orange, June 16th, 1700, in the thirteenth year of his reign,—one of the last public acts of his life.

Anabaptist and Presbyterian teachers here, yet, at his arrival, the people had no teacher of any persuasion, and lived all without using any kind of public divine worship.”*

Of the French Presbyterian church, especially of that on SANTEE, we have some few notices. The earliest European voyager who travelled through the country, and left any account of the people, and especially the native tribes, is John Lawson, afterwards Surveyor-General of North Carolina, who left Charleston on Saturday, December 28th, 1700, in a canoe, and threading the bays and creeks of the coast, entered the mouth of the Santee on the Friday following. Soon after this he encountered a party of the Sewee Indians, who have given their name to Sewee Bay, and whom he represents as having been formerly a large nation, but at that time much diminished in numbers—by the small-pox, by intemperance, and by a disaster at sea, which reduced still more the remnant of this people. Under the mistaken idea that England was not far from the coast, they fitted out a large fleet of canoes, laden with skins and furs for the purpose of traffic, and embarked all their able-bodied men, leaving the old, impotent, and those under age, at home. A part of their fleet was destroyed by a storm, and the remainder taken by an English vessel, which sold them as slaves in the West India islands, (pp. 11, 12). These circumstances illustrate the evils which came to the native tribes from the contact of the whites. In this instance their diseases and vices, and the aspiring imitation of their example, equally tended to their destruction. They show us how near together were the abodes of civilization and barbarism, and how these early settlers were surrounded on all sides by savage neighbors. He next describes the Huguenots on the Santee, among whom he arrives in January, 1702. He considered them as exceedingly prosperous and happy. “’Tis admirable,” he says, “to see what time and industry will (with God’s blessing) effect.” “Some of them bringing very little of effects, yet by their endeavors and united assistance among themselves (which is highly commendable), have outstripped our English, who brought with them larger fortunes, though (as it seems) less endeavor to manage their talent to the best advantage.” “They live as decently and happily as any planters in these southward parts of America.” He commends them for their temperance, industry, and brotherly affection. On the fourth of January he

* Humphrey, p. 95.

arrived at the residence of Daniel Huger, the emigrant, above the Wambaw creek, and at the point of its confluence with the southern branch of the Santee: "The first Christian dwelling we met withal in that settlement; and were very courteously received by him and his wife. We lay all night at Mons. Eugée's, and the next morning (Sunday) set out further to go the rest of our voyage by land. At ten o'clock we passed over a narrow, deep swamp (Echaw creek). At noon we came up with several plantations, meeting several creeks by the way. The French were very officious in assisting with their small dodories to pass over these waters (whom we met coming from their church*), being all of them very clean and decent in their apparel, their houses and plantations suitable in neatness and contrivance. They are all of the same opinion with the church of Geneva, there being no difference among them respecting the punctilios of their Christian faith; which union hath propagated a happy and delightful concord in all other matters throughout the whole neighborhood, living away among themselves as one tribe, or kindred—every one making it his business to be assistant to the wants of his countrymen, preserving his estate and reputation with the same exactness as he does his own, all seeming to share in the misfortunes, and rejoice at the advance and rise of their brethren. Towards the afternoon we came to Mons. L'Jandro ('Philip Gendron's'), where we got our dinner; there coming some French ladies whilst we were there, who were lately come from England, and Mons. L'Grand ('Isaac La Grand'), a worthy Norman, who hath been a great sufferer in his estate by the persecution in France against those of the Protestant religion. The gentleman very kindly invited us to make our stay with him all night, but we being intended further that day, took our leaves, returning acknowledgments of their favors.

"About four in the afternoon, we passed over a large cypress run" (Santee, then called Labardee creek, which is about five miles above the Echaw) "in a small canoe. The French doctor sent his negro to guide us over the head of a large swamp," (which unites with the Fountain creek within a short distance

* What he called creeks were probably bodies of water occasioned by the great fresh in the river then prevailing. "The French and Indians affirmed to me, they never knew such an extraordinary flood there before." A writer, who, by his acquaintance with the history of the French refugees, we suppose to be Daniel Ravenel, Esq., of Charleston, thinks (Presbyterian, April 20, 1850) from this, that the church built by the earliest colonists was between the Echaw and the Santee creeks, which would be convenient to the scattered inhabitants, and not on the river where Jamestown was located.

from the river, and has been since cultivated). "So we got that night to Mons. Galliar's, the elder," (John Gaillard), "who lives in a very curious-contrived house, built of brick and stone, which is gotten near that place.* Near here comes in the road from Charlestown, and the rest of the English settlement." He remarks upon the Santee and the swamp over which he was ferried the next day, "which," he says, "the overflowing of the freshes, which then came down, had made a perfect sea of; there running an incredible current in the river." "We intended for Mons. Galliar's, junr.,† but was lost. When we got to the house, the French inhabitants treated us very courteously, wondering at our undertaking such a voyage through a country inhabited by none but savages, and them of so different nations and tongues. After we had refreshed ourselves, we parted from a very kind, loving, and affable people, who wished us a safe and prosperous voyage."

The description which this interesting and earliest traveller through the wilds of Carolina gives of this people, reminds us of the purest days of the church, and the most peaceful pictures which poetry has sketched of social and rural life. Immediately as he left this French settlement, he visited the "Seretees, or Santees" (Zantees), many of whose customs he describes. Thus this settlement then was, and long continued, the most advanced settlement of Europeans towards the interior and northern portions of the province. Pierre Robert continued to be their minister through these first ten years of the eighteenth century. In September, 1705, the lords proprietors ceded to the French inhabitants a tract of land on

* "Vestiges of the foundation of this house may now be traced. It stood on the eastern margin of Fountain Creek, and about one mile from the river."—Daniel Ravenel, in *South. Lit. Gazette* of July 28, 1852, to whom I am indebted for the local explanations interspersed in this extract from Lawson.

† "The Huguenot refugees of this name, who emigrated to South Carolina, formed several distinct families—*Pierre Gaillard*, from Cherneux, Poitou, the ancestor of the several families bearing that patronymic in South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi; *Joachim Gaillard*, from Montpelier, Languedoc; *Jean*, *Barthelemi*, and *Pierre Gaillard* (brothers), &c.; *Pierre* and *Richard Gaillard*, who resided and probably died in Charlestown. The name *Gaillard* is enrolled among the persecuted Albigenses in the thirteenth century (Sismondi). In the year 1616, a Huguenot of that name was broken on the wheel at Bordeaux, (Browning). In 1659, *M. Gaillard*, a priest and minister in Montauban, was banished from the kingdom by Louis XIV., and died a professor of theology in the University of Leyden, (*Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, &c). Refugees of the same name settled at Spital Fields soon after the Revocation, (Burns); and very recently a "priest *Gaillard*, who had abjured the Popish faith, mysteriously disappeared under circumstances which impressed upon the public mind the conviction of his having been assassinated, or immured in a dungeon by the papists."—Presbyterian, June 15, 1850.

the Santee for a town, or a plantation in common, as they should prefer. In January following, a town was laid out, with streets intersecting at right angles, in the middle of which a lot was appropriated for a church and cemetery. This town was settled and inhabited for a term of years, of what duration we are not informed. There is in existence a receipt signed by Philip Gendron, an elder (Ancien de l'Église François de Jamestown sur la Rivière de Santy en Caroline) of the French church of Jamestown, upon the Santee river, in Carolina, acknowledging the payment of £9 15s. 11½d., by René Ravel, another elder (aussi Ancien de la dite Église) in said church, and the delivery of the registers and papers of said church, to which is attached the date, Nov. 8, 1708.* Pierre Gaillard also bequeathed, by his will dated in 1710, £5 to the French church in Jamestown. Through this period, then, the French Huguenot church on the Santee retained its own distinct organization, under its own pastor, Pierre Robert, notwithstanding the efforts made to conform it to the church then established by law. "Thursday, August 17th, 1704, Pierre Robert, minister of the holy gospel at Santee, married Margaret Huger to Elias Horry," and "January 25th, 1709-10, Daniel Huger was married to Elizabeth Gendron, by Mr. Pierre Robert, minister of the holy gospel."†

The Huguenot church in ORANGE QUARTER continued to be served by the pastor, the Rev. Mr. de la Pierre. The first Episcopal church out of Charleston, as has been already mentioned, was built on Pompion Hill, a Bluff on the eastern branch of Cooper river, in what is now the parish of St. Thomas and St. Denis, in 1703. When the parish church was completed, in 1709, this became a *chapel of ease*, of which the Rev. Mr. Hasell was pastor. The French still adhered to their own church and worshipped agreeably to its ancient model, unseduced by the English ritual.

The same is true of the Huguenots on the WESTERN BRANCH OF COOPER RIVER. They adhered to their own worship through the lifetime of their own minister, M. Trouillart. "A good number of churchmen had settled there," says Dr. Humphrey, "but they had no house of worship till 1711. The Rev. Robert Maule, a missionary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, arrived in Charleston in 1707, and was appointed to the parish of St. John's, which included this

* It includes an acquittance—"dont je le decharge au nom de la Assemblée, fait a Santy ce 8 Nov., 1708."

† Records of the Huger family.

settlement of the French. By the courtesy of the French pastor, M. Trouillart, Mr. Maule frequently performed service in his church ; at other times in the houses of the planters in the different neighborhoods. Few of the French attended the service of the English church, partly for want of the language." *

Meanwhile in their native France, the Huguenots were again involved in suffering. After the peace of Ryswick, 1697, Louis renewed his project of compelling his subjects to a unity of faith. He was amazed to find that, though their pastors had been driven into exile, their churches levelled to the ground, and their assemblies for worship prohibited under penalty of death, their faith yet flourished in its pristine vigor. In proportion as their regular clergy had been removed, others arose among the peasantry, of rustic manners but of strong minds, to take their places and become leaders of the flock, whether in religious worship, or in those defensive, sometimes retaliative, measures, which the cruelties of their persecutors provoked. From the time Basville was made Intendent of Languedoc, and the Abbé du Chaila Inspector of Missions, these cruelties became more systematic and continued. Whenever the tortures of the abbé failed of effecting abjuration or the revelation of the hiding-places of other victims, the sufferers were thrown into narrow cells (*ceps*), where the impossibility of moving caused new and terrible torments. In 1702, a party of fugitives were overtaken by him at Pont de Mont-Vert on their way to Geneva, and placed in the *ceps* to await judgment. Great efforts were made with the abbé in behalf of several young ladies who were travelling in the party in male attire for their greater security. But he was inexorable, and threatened the guide, Massip, with certain execution. An appeal was made in their behalf to a Huguenot assembly, who after prayer, marched with such arms as they could command—swords, halberts, and scythes—to their rescue. They entered the place at nightfall, chanting a psalm, and surrounded the house where Du Chaila was lodged and demanded the liberation of his captives. Their demand was answered by a volley from his soldiers, and one of the party fell. The house was then forced, and while some were engaged in freeing the prisoners, others sought the abbé and called upon him to sur-

* Humphrey, Soc. for Prop. the Gospel, pp. 89, 105.

render. The answer was another discharge of musketry. The enraged assailants then set fire to the house, and the abbé escaped from the window, but broke his leg by the fall. Being discovered, in the light of the conflagration, he was reproached with his cruelty, and abjectly begged for his life. He was instantly pierced with near fifty wounds, each blow being accompanied with words like these: "This is for your violence to my father." "This for sending my brother to the galleys," &c. This proceeding gave rise to the war of the *Camisards*.* The perpetrators of these deeds then retired to the forests, and decided to defend themselves to the utmost. Seguier, one of their leaders, being taken, was burned alive. Others arose: Laporte, Castanet, and Roland each had their band of heroes. The first of these men was regarded as their commander-in-chief, and after he was cut off, Jean Cavalier, a native of Ribaute, a man in humble life, though but twenty-one years of age, became their leader. He is described as a man rustic in appearance, diminutive in stature, and ungainly; but a man of remarkable vigor, and of great natural fluency and intellectual endowments. He held religious assemblies, and whenever their little army was present he afforded protection to their worship. It was immediately resumed, and baptism and the Lord's supper administered, and marriages celebrated in all their towns. The greatest harmony prevailed among them, oaths and obscenity were unknown, they held their goods, as it were, in common, and addressed their chief as *brother*. Their enemies have insinuated that there was debauchery in their camps, and have adduced the presence of women among the slain in proof. But these were their wives and daughters, who carried them food, and were their means of communication with their friends in the towns. These could only be safe with

* There have been many speculations as to the origin of this name. The most probable, says Browning, is that it is a corruption of *Camisade*, a nocturnal attack. Some attribute it to a succor sent, during the wars of Louis XIII., to Montauban by the Duke of Rohan, in which the mountaineers, to distinguish each other, wore their shirts on the outside. Cavalier, one of the leaders, who published a History of the Wars of the Cévennes, says: "It was then that the name of the *Camisards* got its beginning or revived itself; and the reason was, our men commonly carried but two shirts, one on their backs, the other in their knapsacks; so that when they would pass by their friends, they would leave the dirty and take the clean in lieu thereof, not having time to spare to wash their linen. But having disarmed the citizens, they took clean linen from them and left the dirty."—*Memoirs of the Wars of the Cévennes*, translation, Dublin, 1726, p. 157. Another probable reason was that they ordinarily appeared in the smock-frock of the peasantry, the *chemise* provincially *camise*.

their husbands and brothers, and shared in all the hardships of this dreadful war. One of their chief resorts was Calignon, in the centre of the Vaunage, which before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes counted no less than thirty churches, and was known to them as *La Petite Canaan*. The punishments inflicted upon these poor people, who were convicted before the tribunals, were terrible. They were first broken upon the wheel, and then thrown, yet alive, into fires kindled at the foot of the scaffold. At Nismes, at Alais, and at St. Hypolite, the gibbets and scaffolds were always standing, and the executioner within call.

The Camisards were nerved not only by desperate courage, but with religious fervor, and the impetuosity with which they hurled themselves upon their foes was often irresistible. In January, 1703, the Count de Broglie overtook them at Val de Bane. Cavalier was absent, and the command devolved on Ravanel. About two hundred only were present. The approach of the troops did not move the resolute band, who continued singing the sixty-eighth psalm of their version,

Que Dieu se montre seulement,
Et l'on verra dans le moment
Abandonne la place;
Le camp des ennemis épars,
Epouvanté de toutes partes,
Fuira devant sa face, &c.

They received the first volley with one knee on the ground, and then replied with such effect that their enemy retreated. A youth struck Poul, the officer who led the attack, from his horse with a stone, killed him with his own sword, and, mounting the horse of the slain officer, joined in the pursuit. On another occasion, Nov. 13, 1703, Cavalier de Ribaute was surprised, at Nages, by the Count de Fimarcon. They had time, however, to retire to an eminence before they were attacked. About thirty women, who had carried provisions to their husbands and brothers, were with them when the alarm was given. A girl of seventeen, Lucrèce Guignon, stimulated her friends by her example. Shouting, "The sword of the Lord and Gideon!" she rushed with her companions on the foe, disarmed a wounded dragoon, and joined in the pursuit of the flying soldiers. Cavalier himself was nearly taken in the onset. He had gone to reconnoitre, and was intercepted by a cornet and two dragoons. He was within pistol-shot ere he perceived his danger, and the cornet, calling him by name, offered him quarter.

He shot him immediately through the head with his musket. The dragoons advanced upon him. He awaited them with a pistol in either hand : each carried true, and Cavalier joined his companions drawn up in order of battle. After this gallant defence and victory, he proceeded to Clarensac, where he remained three hours, preached a sermon, and rendered defenceless the walls of the town. One of Fimarçon's officers, Laborde, was defeated by him at Rogues des Aubais. Laborde had divided his dragoons into two bodies, to surround the Camisards. Cavalier did the same. The dragoons galloped down, sure of victory. They were met by a discharge of stones from slings from a band of sixty new recruits, who had no better arms. By this they were thrown into confusion. The main body of the insurgents, rushing forward, completed the defeat, and twenty-five dragoons lay dead on the field of battle. At length Cavalier made terms with the Marshal Villars, and, at the time of his death, was a general in the British army. But Roland, Ravanel, Castanet, and Catinat kept up the conflict. Roland was betrayed and slain ; Castanet died upon the wheel ; Ravanel and Catinat were put to the torture to induce them to make disclosures, and were burned alive.* These were times of new suffering to the oppressed church of France, but whether they added materially to the French population of this colony we are not apprised, though the French population was still increased by individual emigrants from time to time.

CHAPTER III.

ADVANTAGES OF THE EPISCOPALIANS.

THE Episcopal church was greatly aided by two causes during the first ten years of the eighteenth century. One was the assistance furnished it by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Mr. Samuel Thomas, their first missionary, came into the colony in June, 1702, as a missionary to the Yamasee Indians, but by the advice of the governor settled at Goose Creek. He died in 1706, and was succeeded by Dr.

* Nap. Peyrat, *Hist. des Pasteurs du Desert*, Paris, 1842 ; Charles Coquerel, *Hist. des Eglises du Desert*, Paris, 1841.

Le Jeu, also sent out by the society. Mr. Maule was sent out to St. John's parish in 1707. It is evident from his report to the society that the Independents and Anabaptists were there before him. He preached, as we have seen, in the French church, which their minister, M. Trouillard, kindly offered him. Mr. Hasell was sent to the parish of St. Thomas in 1709. Mr. Dunn was sent as the society's missionary to St. Paul's, in Colleton, in 1705, and a small church erected in 1708. He was succeeded by Mr. Mateland in 1708. Rev. Mr. Wood was sent to St. Andrew's, thirteen miles from Charleston, on the south side of Ashley river, in 1707, but soon died. Rev. Gideon Johnston was sent as missionary to St. Philip's, in Charleston, in 1707, and Mr. Dennis appointed schoolmaster at Goose Creek in 1710. These great and signal advantages were enjoyed by the Episcopal church through the labors of this society, and that church is more indebted to it for its early clergy than to any other source.

The second advantage the Episcopal church obtained was its establishment by law as the religion of the State. There were several circumstances which concurred to accomplish it. The proprietors were almost all Episcopalians, and were using their efforts to give their own church the ascendancy over all others. The original constitutions, which were sent out with Governor Sayle, ordained nothing in favor of Episcopacy. And, as we have before seen, the new constitutions had not been accepted by the colonial parliament. The maintenance which was voted to the Episcopal minister of St. Philip's, under Governor Blake, was not designed to be construed as a general church establishment. On the death of Governor Blake, Joseph Morton, a landgrave, was elected by the Grand Council, but was displaced by an ambitious man, James Moore, who scrupled little by what arts he obtained power. Meanwhile, William of Orange, the Presbyterian king of England, who, while he maintained the Established Church, treated those of his own early church with great moderation and kindness, died March 8th, 1702, and Anne, second daughter of James II., succeeded to the throne. William of Orange, though not without his imperfections, was possessed of virtues which are rare in the palaces of kings; among them, integrity, moderation, magnanimity, simplicity, firmness, and undaunted courage were conspicuous. He presided over the Dutch Republic with energy and wisdom, and skilfully guided his course in circumstances of great difficulty on the English throne. He desired sincerely the union of all Protestants, but the most that could



be gained was an act of toleration—"An Act to *permit* Almighty God to receive the worship of his creatures according to His own Word." (Brooks, *Rel. Liberty*, ii.) The king left the matters of the church much in the queen's hands, who, though the daughter of James II., was a woman of rare excellence, and a sincere disciple of Christ.

Anne was a woman of amiable disposition, and was generally known among her people as "The good Queen Anne." Her reign was one of great prosperity and glory, by the merit and great abilities of her statesmen and commanders, and by the abilities and refinement of scholars and philosophers. Locke, Newton, Flamstead, Addison, Clarke, Steele, Arbuthnot, Halley, Bentley, and others, contributed to render this period, what it has often been termed, "The Augustan Age of Great Britain."

Anne had more of the spirit of the House of Stuart than her sister Mary. She had the same high notions of prerogative which had been entertained by her fathers. She was the dupe of the violent among the clergy. The cry was raised of "The Church in danger," and efforts were again made to abridge the privileges of those who dissented from the church as established. Now the names "High Church" and "Low Church" began to be bandied to and fro. Under the countenance of the queen, bigotry and High Church illiberality increased: the universities, especially Oxford, lent their influence to increase it, and a large share of the established clergy were men of little principle, imperious and ill-tempered, at least to those who differed with them in religion. About the same time Lord Granville was made palatine of the province, and Sir Nathaniel Johnson was appointed its governor. James Moore was attorney-general, Nicholas Trott chief-justice, and Job Howes surveyor-general. The palatine, Lord Granville, was a bigoted churchman, and held all dissenters in great contempt. He had already vehemently supported in the English parliament a bill to impose a severe penalty on all officers of government who should enter a dissenting chapel. Johnson, the governor, was a non-juror and a zealous prelatist, and Moore and Trott were ready to sustain him. Everything being carefully and skilfully prepared, a bill was introduced in the Commons House of Assembly requiring all persons hereafter chosen to the Commons House to conform to the Church of England, and to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the rites of the said church. It passed the House by a majority of one, some Episcopalians voting against it.

Thomas Jones, John Beamer, Laurence Denner, William Edwards, John Stanyarne, Charles Colleton, and James Cochran entered their dissent. In the council, Landgrave Joseph Morton asked leave to record his protest, and leave was refused him. An act was also passed against blasphemy and profaneness, by which, whoever should speak against the Trinity or the divine authority of the Scriptures was to be deprived of holding office; and if a second time convicted, was disabled from giving suit in a court of law, or being guardian, administrator, and executor, and in default of bail was to suffer imprisonment for three years. This was intended to cast reproach upon dissenters, as if they were skeptics and blasphemers, and to arrogate to the ruling party a supreme regard for the interests of religion. In reference to this, the second Landgrave Thomas Smith, wrote, "I send you a copy of their act against blasphemy and profaneness, which they always make a great noise about, although they are some of the most profanest in the country themselves." For these words Mr. Smith was taken into the custody of the messenger of the House. And in reference to the religious character of these gentlemen, Mr. Marston, the rector of St. Philip's, says, "that many members of the Commons House that passed this law are constant absentees from the church, and eleven of them were never known to receive the Lord's supper," though he had administered it in his church at least six times a year. On November 4th, 1704, an act for establishing the Church of England was passed, which divided the several counties into six parishes; enacted that six churches should be built, with parsonages, and glebes; that bricks, lime, and other materials, carpenters, joiners, and other workmen and laborers, and slaves, should be pressed into the service of the supervisors of buildings; and it appointed twenty lay commissioners, with full powers to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to deprive ministers of their livings at pleasure.

This act gave great displeasure to the dissenters, who were deprived by it of a seat in the Assembly, and disqualified for holding office. It was a violation too of the eighteenth article of the Royal Charter granting liberty of conscience. Many churchmen disapproved of it, especially that feature of it appointing lay commissioners, as an invasion of episcopal jurisdiction, the colonies being a part of the diocese of the Bishop of London, and governed by commissaries,—officers appointed by the bishop to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in a particular part of his diocese where he cannot attend in person.

This court the Carolinians took to be a Court of High Commission like that of James II., and regarded it with abhorrence. But the governor, intent on his purpose, would listen to no remonstrance. Rev. Mr. Marston, who succeeded Mr. Marshall as rector of St. Philip's, spoke against the proceedings of the House with unmeasured severity, "comparing them to Korah and his rebellious company," accusing them of proceeding maliciously against him for visiting Thomas Smith, the dissenter, while under the custody of their messenger: for this reason he was summoned to the bar of the House and deprived of his salary, £150, till his better behavior. Mr. Marston continued his spirited and imprudent opposition to these measures and their abettors, and in 1705 was arraigned before the Board of Lay Commissioners and deprived of his living. Of these twenty commissioners, at the head of whom was Governor Johnson, Mr. Marston, in a letter to Dean Stanhope, says, "eleven of the twenty were never known to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper." *Their* zeal, therefore, could not be prompted by any love of true religion, or by any regard to Christ the Saviour, as Lord and head of the church. It merely arose from political considerations, and from a desire to propitiate the proprietary government, and win the approbation of the authorities at home. One of Mr. Marston's objections to the whole proceedings of the Assembly, he thus expresses: "I cannot think it will be much for the credit and service of the Church of England here, that such provisions should be made for admitting the most loose and profligate persons to sit and vote in the making of our laws, who will but take the oath appointed by the late act." *

The inhabitants of Colleton county, which was settled chiefly by dissenters, met and drew up a statement of their grievances, and Col. Joseph Morton and Edmund Bellinger, landgraves and deputies of the proprietors, with all the other members of Colleton, and several of great respectability in Berkley, prevailed on Joseph Ash, one of the most zealous in the opposition, to embark for England as agent of the aggrieved party, which embraced fully two-thirds of the colony. The governor and his friends did their utmost to prevent his obtaining his passage in any vessel from Carolina, and it was not without difficulty that he reached Virginia, whither his instructions were sent to him.†

Rev. Archibald Stobo, the Presbyterian minister of Charles-

* Dalcho, p. 63.

† Oldmixon, Hewatt, Rivers.

ton, warmly opposed this establishment from the beginning, and brought to the view of the colonists those severities and hardships the dissenters in England had suffered from the rigors of Episcopal government. "Several circumstances proved favorable to Stobo's opposition; he possessed those talents which render a minister conspicuous and respected, and the people that party zeal which becomes violent from ill usage and persecution." "He had a natural aversion from the Episcopal jurisdiction, and no minister of the colony had engrossed so universally the public favor and esteem. The governor and his adherents found it necessary to sow the seeds of division among his followers, and, from maxims of policy, to magnify his failings, in order to ruin his great power and influence."* Mr. Ash, on his arrival in England, sought Lord Granville, but found him in the interests of the dominant party at home; he only promised that he would cause his secretary to write to the governor, and require of him an answer to the charges preferred. Mr. Ash immediately began to draw up a representation of the case which he intended for the press, but dying before it was finished, his papers fell into the hands of his enemies, and among them the letters of Landgrave Smith, sent to Ash while in Virginia and England, to which reference has before been made, and which rendered Mr. Smith the object of censure and imprisonment. Mr. Ash, under the excite-

* Hewatt, vol. i., p. 178. London, 1779. What the failings of Mr. Stobo were, we are not informed. We judge him to have been a man of most decided character, uncompromising in his assertion of what he believed to be right, and in his denunciation of what he knew to be wrong. In a subsequent page, we shall see that he was too earnest an adherent of Presbyterian government to please all parties in the church at Charleston. It will be remembered, too, what charges were brought against the Scotch ministers by the "scape-graces" of the colony of Darien, for their protracted services. The following anecdote is repeated by Mrs. Flud, in her MS. history of the Legaré Family, of a scene in church between the first emigrant, Solomon Legaré, and Mr. Stobo. "Mr. Legaré was strict in the observance of regular hours, and to his great annoyance, the Rev. Mr. Stobo, who preached at one time in the Congregational church, gave sermons of such unusual length that they often interfered with the dinner hour. At length Mr. Legaré was determined to submit no longer to such irregularity; and the next Sabbath he got up, with his family, in the midst of the discourse, and was about to leave the church, when the Rev. Scotch gentleman perceiving his intention, called out from the pulpit: 'Aye, aye, a little pitcher is soon full!' Upon which irreverent address, the Huguenot's French blood became excited, and turning himself about in the middle of the aisle, he still more irreverently, and not altogether to his credit, retorted, 'And you are an old fool!' He then quietly went home with his family, ate his dinner, returned with them to the church, and then listened to the balance of the discourse as gravely as if nothing unusual had occurred."



ment of his feelings, undoubtedly carried his charges against Gov. Johnson too far: and yet Archdale says, "Sir Nathaniel Johnson, by a chimerical wit, zeal, and art, transmuted and turned this civil difference (about the expedition against St. Augustine) into a religious controversy; and so setting up a standard for those called High Church, ventured to exclude all the dissenters out of the assembly, as being those principally that were for a strict examination into the grounds and causes of the miscarriage of the *Augustine* expedition."*

The dissenters were now greatly discouraged, and those of British origin were filled with apprehensions lest they should be involved in Carolina in the same troubles which made them leave their native country. Their counsels were various. Some were for removing to Pennsylvania, others were for addressing the House of Lords to consider their grievances and intercede with her majesty. The last measure prevailed. Joseph Boone was sent over as their agent, bearing with him their memorial to the House of Lords. The principal merchants in London, trading to Carolina, united with Mr. Boone also in a petition to the proprietors to repeal the obnoxious act. He solicited the palatine for seven long weeks before he could induce him to call the board together; and when it was done, and their cause warmly espoused, and with the most solid reasons, by Mr. Archdale, the palatine curtly answered, "Sir, you are of one opinion, and I am of another; our lives may not be long enough to end the controversy. I am for this bill, and this is the party that I will head and countenance." Mr. Boone desired to be heard by counsel. The palatine replied, "What business has counsel here? It is a prudential act in me; and I will do as I see fit. I see no harm in this bill, and I am resolved to pass it." The petition fared otherwise, however, in the House of Lords. They declared the act "contrary to the charter, not consonant to reason, contrary to the laws of the realm, and destructive to the constitution of the Church of England, an encouragement to atheism and irreligion, destructive to trade, and tending to the depopulation and ruin of the province."† They also petitioned the queen, to "deliver the province from the arbitrary oppressions under which it now lies." To this the queen gave a favorable answer. The subject was referred to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. They consulted the crown-lawyers,

* Archdale's Description of South Carolina, in Caroll, ii., 110.

† See the Resolutions in Dalcho, p. 66, and Hewatt, i., 174.

who declared that the laws ought to be made void. On the 24th of May, 1706, the lords commissioners reported to the queen, that the lords proprietors had forfeited their charter, and recommended that it be annulled by legal process. On the 10th of June, the queen declared the enactments of the colonial assembly null and void. There had also been passed an order in council, that the queen's attorney and solicitor should inquire what course was to be pursued for recalling the charter. The Society for Propagating the Gospel also resolved to send no more missionaries to Carolina until the 16th section, about lay commissioners, be repealed.

Meanwhile, several of the colonists, who had heard nothing of the manner in which these oppressive acts were regarded in England, left the country and removed to Pennsylvania. It did, however, occur that the House of Assembly, at a meeting subsequent to that which passed the act excluding dissenters, voted its repeal, which shows on which side the true majority was, and that the former vote had been carried by management and trickery; but this vote was rejected by the governor and council. The law remained in force, the assembly was dissolved by the governor, and a new one was elected under this law. Some refused to qualify, and the next on the sheriff's lists were summoned to their seats. Thus a Commons House was secured favorable to the establishment of Episcopacy, who passed a law for continuing themselves in authority for two years, and for eighteen months after the change of government either by the present governor's death or removal, alleging as a reason their fear that by the succession of a new governor the church [of England] may be either undermined or wholly subverted. When the manner in which their acts were received in the mother country was known, the objectionable acts were repealed, and the church act (Statutes, vol. ii., p. 282) was passed, which was the law of the colony till the American Revolution. Lord Granville died at the close of 1707, and William Lord Craven was made palatine,—a man of milder temper and greater moderation than his predecessor, and more tolerant towards the religious opinions of others. Everything, however, seemed to favor the Episcopal church and discourage dissenters. The Society for the Propagation of Religion in Foreign Parts, to which at its origin some dissenters had contributed, was under Episcopal rule, and though professing to advance the gospel, by providing clergymen for the whites, and instruction for the Indians and slaves, the churches not in the Establishment found that it did not contribute to their



upbuilding. The public library, which was established by the munificence of the proprietors, of Dr. Bray, the Bishop of London's commissary in Maryland, and the inhabitants, was placed also under the care of the incumbent of the Church of England in Charleston,* and, as was natural to expect, while it was kept in existence, by the books which it circulated it aided the church of the Establishment rather than those opposed to it. Indeed, the close of the first decade of the eighteenth century marked an era in which high-church illiberality witnessed a new revival, and the turbulence of its waves was felt even on these shores of the New World.

Oldmixon, in his *History of the British Empire*, published in 1708, states the population of Charleston at 3,000 souls, of Dorchester at 350; Wilton, or New London, he describes as a little town of about eighty houses.

In the same year a statement was made, signed by Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Thomas Broughton, Robert Gibbes, George Smith, and Richard Beresford, in which the population of the entire province was said to be 9,580 souls, of which the proportions were as follows: Free men, 1,360; free women, 900; white servant men, 60; white servant women, 60; white free children, 1,700; negro slaves, men, 1,800; negro slaves, women, 1,100; Indian slaves, men, 500; Indian slaves, women, 600; negro slave children, 1,200; Indian slave children, 300.

A letter from South Carolina, dated Charlestown, June 1, 1710, and reprinted in 1732, makes the following comparative statements:—p. 43. "It is not necessary to insert the exact numbers of the several inhabitants; but the proportion they bear to one another, and each to the whole, are as follows:

Whites,	{	Planters, as	$8\frac{1}{2}$	{	
		Traders,	$1\frac{1}{2}$		to 12;
		Artisans,	2		
All the whites,	{		12	{	
Indian subjects,		to the whole, as	66		to 100."
Negro slaves,			22		

P. 45. "There are eight ministers of the *Church of England*, three *French Protestant* congregations, where two of their ministers were lately proselyted to the church, five of British Presbyterians, one of Anabaptists, and a small one of Quakers. The ministers of the *Church of England* have each £100 per

* November, 1700.

annum, paid out of the public treasury, besides contributions and perquisites from their parishioners. The other ministers are maintained by voluntary subscriptions. The proportions that the several parties in religion do bear to the whole, and to each other, are at present as follows :

Episcopalians,	} to the whole as	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	} to 10."
Presbyterians, including			
those French who re-		4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
tain their own disci-			
pline,			
Anabaptists,		1	
Quakers,		0 $\frac{1}{4}$	

The city of Charleston was but of limited extent.—There were but a few scattered houses beyond the line of fortification, each within a small enclosure. The spaces between were grown up in "young pyne, bushes, shrubs, and the Jamestown weed." The manners of the town were simple, and, except the wide street "out of Charlestown, for three or four miles, called the Broadway," which "is so delightful a road, and walk of a great breadth, so pleasantly green, that no prince in Europe, by all their art, can make so pleasant a sight," and which was indebted to nature more than to art—everything was exceedingly rural. The landgrave Smith's account of the manners of the people were, that "the young girls received their beaus at three o'clock, having dined at twelve, expecting them to withdraw about six o'clock, as many families retired to bed at seven in the winter, and seldom extended their sitting in summer beyond eight o'clock, some of their fathers having learned to obey the curfew toll in England. In those days, one hundred and fifty years ago, their rooms were all uncarpeted, the rough sides of the apartments remained of the natural color or complexion of whatever wood the house chanced to be built of. Rush-bottomed chairs were furnished instead of the hair seating or crimson velvet of our day, and without which, and a handsome sofa to match, many do not think it would be possible to exist."—*The Olden Time of Carolina ; Charleston, 1855.*

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BOOK FIFTH.

A. D. 1710-1720.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY furnishes us with very few incidents appertaining to the ecclesiastical history of the second decade of the eighteenth century. Mr. Livingston continued to preach to the CHURCH IN CHARLESTON, and Mr. Stobo was exercising his ministerial gifts wherever his labors were most needed in the colony. Perhaps he had already taken up his residence at Wilton. Wherever his family were located, there can be no doubt of his faithfulness in his vocation, of his perseverance and energy. The Presbyterian church had as yet attained but a limited development in the British colonies. The presbytery of Philadelphia, the earliest of our ecclesiastical bodies, had but about eight members at the beginning of this period. When they divided themselves into three presbyteries, to form the synod of Philadelphia, in 1716, their whole number had reached seventeen; and at the close of this period (1720) the entire number was twenty-seven. The reason of the slow growth of the Presbyterian church in this earliest period has been found in the quiet and peace they enjoyed at home for a length of time after the accession of William of Orange. The French and English persecutions began earlier, continued longer, and drove them forth into other countries, while those of Scotland and Ireland were soon over.

The FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH IN CHARLESTON cannot be very distinctly traced through this decade. Dr. Ramsay says the Rev. Mr. Boisseau was minister in 1712. How long before or how long after that year he served this church we do not know.

On the 14th of February, 1714-15, an act was passed "Impowering Charles Franchome and Samuel Peronneau, elders of the French church in Charlestown, or their successors, elders of the s^d church for the time being, to sell and alien a certain tract of land in Berkley county, devised to the poor of

said church by Mary Longuemere, alias *Aunant*, to and for the use, &c., of the persons aforesaid.”*

The FRENCH CHURCH AT JAMESTOWN ON THE SANTEE still enjoyed the labors of Pierre Robert; and our Huguenot brethren, about this time, received an accession to their ministers in Rev. Claude Philippe de Richebourg, who removed from Trent river, in North Carolina, to Jamestown, on the Santee, in 1712. He was pastor of the colony of French refugees, driven forth from their country by the edict of Revocation, whom King William had sent to Virginia in 1690, and who were settled at Manakin Town, which occupied a fertile tract of land on James river, about twenty miles above Richmond. They were joined in 1699 by three hundred, and in 1700 by two hundred, and subsequently by one hundred more.† The provincial legislature of Virginia constituted this settlement a parish under the name of “King William’s parish in the county of Henrico.” Dissensions arose among them, and in 1708 the great body of them removed to Trent river, in North Carolina. From this settlement they were driven by a rising of the Tuscarora and Coree Indians, and a general massacre of the whites in their neighborhood,‡ and Richebourg, and probably others, found their way to the province of South Carolina.

“The character which has been transmitted to us of this persecuted minister of the gospel, exhibits as its peculiar trait a devotedness to the cause of Christ. He appears to have been a man of unobtrusive manners, of deep and fervent piety, and of a serious temper of mind. Adversities and poverty seem to have been his portion in the lot of life.” “He seems to have lived, after his removal to South Carolina, for two or three years without a spiritual charge, and without any pecu-

* Presbyterian, Feb. 23d, 1850.

† We may suppose that a large portion of these transportations consisted of Huguenots who accompanied William from Holland. Eight hundred of them, history informs us, were in his army. They formed an entire regiment, under the command of the Duke of Schomberg, in the battle of the Boyne, in 1690. In the decisive battle of Aghrim, in the following year, these auxiliaries, commanded by Ruvigny, (Earl of Galway), contributed by their gallantry to the victory obtained over the French and Irish Papal army under the command of St. Ruth.

‡ This massacre took place on the 11th of September, 1711. One hundred and eleven persons, principally on the Roanoke and Chowan, were victims, and many died under lingering tortures. Lawson, Surveyor-General of N. C., and its earliest historian, was taken prisoner while exploring the Neuse river, and murdered by the savages—January 15th, 1718-19. Presbyterian, April 20th, 1850.

niary resources for the maintenance of his family; and, we are informed by Humphrey, contemplated a removal out of the colony, 'on account of his great want.'"

The infirmities of age creeping upon him, Pierre Robert resigned his charge, and Richebourg was called by the congregation to succeed him in 1715. He continued in the pastorate "until his death, in 1718-19. His will* (the original manuscript in the French language) is still preserved in the public office in Charleston, and breathes the true spirit of the Christian, resigned under the dispensations of Providence, steadfast in the faith, and triumphant at his approaching death. His wife, Anne Chastain, and six children, survived him. Some of his descendants, who are not numerous, have attained to wealth; and no instance is known of any of them having been destitute of the comforts of life.

"Some misstatements have been made by writers of historical sketches of the Huguenots, in reference to Richebourg, which the private and public records have corrected. He was not the *first minister* of the Huguenot church on the Santee, as stated by some, nor was he ever its *rector*, as conjectured by others."

We quote from the Presbyterian, published at Philadelphia, (April 20th, 1850), in which the writer is at issue with Dr. Humphrey, secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and from Dr. Dalcho, in a number of particulars. "The parish of St. James, Santee," says Dr. Humphrey, "consists chiefly of French refugees, conforming to the Church of England. It contains upwards of one hundred French families, and sixty English, besides free Indians and negro slaves. Their minister hath only the salary of the country, and some occasional gratuities, the whole making but a very scanty support. The Rev. Mr. *Philip de Richebourg* was their first minister, and approved himself in all respects a worthy man; upon his dying, in 1717, the parish was a long time without a minister. In 1720 the Rev. Mr. *Pouderous*, a French clergyman, went over, and was fixed there by the Bishop of London; but neither he nor Mr. *Richebourg* had any constant salary from the society, though they have had several occasional gratuities. The people are religious and

* Dated "Quinzième jour de Janvier, l'an mill sept cens dix-huit dix-neuf," (January 15th, 1718-19.) He probably died soon after its execution. Dr. Humphrey states that he died in 1717. The exact period of his death is not known.

industrious, and very soon, in the year 1706, petitioned the Governor and General Assembly to have their settlement erected into a parish, and signified their being extream desirous of being united to the body of the Church of England, whose doctrines and discipline they did most highly esteem; and the Governor and Assembly did pass an act that year, erecting their settlement into a parish, fixing the parochial church at *Jamestown*, and setting forth its boundaries, which contained about eighteen miles in compass, but by a subsequent act they have been much enlarged: The Rev. Mr. *Powderous* continues now (1730) their minister, very industrious in his function.”*

The first act of the Assembly constituting this a parish bears date April 9, 1706, the celebrated Church Act, before alluded to, Nov. 30, 1706.† The bounds of the parish were enlarged Dec. 18, 1708. On petition of the vestry, £100 was appropriated out of the public treasury, June 3, 1712, “towards purchasing the plantation of Alexander Chastaigner, and the houses thereon standing, for a glebe, parsonage-house, and church.‡

Against several of these declarations, the writer in “The Presbyterian” contends that not Mr. Richebourg, but *Pierre Robert*, was their first pastor, and that the Huguenots of the Santee were not united with the Episcopal church in 1706, and that the History of Humphrey is “an *ex parte* work, got up to advance the interests of the Episcopal church; that it is replete with inaccuracies and misstatements in every part which his subject required him to compare with original and authentic documents.” “The preamble” of the Act of April 9, 1706, “declares the law enacted in compliance with a petition from the inhabitants of that settlement; and for the promotion of *piety and true religion!*” (as if those French Huguenots were destitute of these, and none but churchmen could possess them), “and the thorough instruction of youth in the principles and practice of the Christian religion, according to the doctrines of the Church of England.” The provincial legislature seems to have acted in this instance as an auxiliary to the missionary society for propagating the gospel among a people destitute of piety and true religion. To accomplish a purpose so laudable, it declares the church in Jamestown, or any thereafter erected in the settlement, a parish church, which shall continue so for-

* Humphrey, pp. 117, 118.

† See this Act in Dalcho, Appendix, 437.

‡ Dalcho, 296.

ever; it defines the privileges and responsibilities of its rector; provides for his maintenance out of the public treasury, and enjoins the use of Dr. Darell's translation of the Book of Common Prayer—in the administration of the rites and in the public services of the church—so long as the English language shall be unintelligible to the inhabitants. The Act declares, however, that “no payment for the support of a minister shall commence before the arrival in the province of a minister sent by the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London, or his successor,” &c.

The reservation clause in the Act precluded the Huguenot minister, M. Robert, from the benefit of its provisions. It is evident, indeed, from the spirit and phraseology of the law, that its operation was necessarily suspended until a minister, episcopally ordained, had been commissioned by the Bishop of London to assume the duties of the cure; and that so long as the congregation remained under the pastorship of a French Protestant minister, the rectorship would be in abeyance, and the church would remain under its original and ancient constitution. It undoubtedly did retain its name and character as a Reformed church, until the arrival of M. Pouderaus in 1720. Philip de Richebourg was pastor of the French church on the Santee until his death. As he was never episcopally ordained, he could not be fixed there by the Bishop of London, and was never rector of the parish.

The church in ORANGE QUARTER was still under the pastoral care of Rev. M. De la Pierre. His life extended into the next decade. And although his necessitous circumstances drew from the Assembly, Oct. 11, 1711, a gratuity of £20 currency “for his present relief and support,” and April, 1712, they added £50 to his salary, and an Act was passed June 7, 1712, increasing it to £100 per annum,—although this is true, there is evidence that they still met in their own church, which, says Dr. Humphrey, “is a pretty good church, built about the time St. Thomas's was (1708). The major part of them usually met in a church of their own, where they generally made a pretty full congregation, when they had a French minister among them.” This was published in 1730.

In St. John's parish, on the WESTERN BRANCH OF COOPER RIVER, the French minister *Trouillard* continued to offer Mr. *Maule*, the Episcopal missionary, the use of his church, the English church not being begun till 1710, though the offer of £333 currency had been extended to all the parishes for church building since 1706. The outside was not finished

till 1711, when Mr. *Maule* began to use it, and to continue those labors of proselyting, in which the church dignitaries at home, and the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and the governor and council in Carolina, were so assiduously engaged. Mr. Trouillard died in 1712. No other pastor succeeded him. No further traces of the Huguenot church can be found. It seems to have been dissolved and absorbed in the parish church of the faith established by the civil and proprietary government.

Some time during this period, 1710-1720, if not earlier, we may probably place the commencement of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF EDISTO ISLAND. This island was permanently settled in the beginning of the century, principally by emigrants from Scotland and Wales. All the grants are dated in either the last years of the seventeenth or the first of the eighteenth century. The Presbyterian denomination has always been the most numerous here. The date of their church organization cannot be perfectly ascertained. Its records, if any existed, were destroyed during the conflicts of the Revolution; nor indeed are there any known to be extant for a period long subsequent to this. In 1705, Henry Bower obtained a grant of three hundred acres from the lords proprietors. This land he conveyed in 1717 to certain persons named, in trust, for the benefit of a Presbyterian minister on Edisto Island.* All that this can prove is that there were Presbyterians resident there, and that the permanent residence of a Presbyterian minister among them was a matter of solicitude. Whether Edisto was one of the five churches of British Presbyterians existing in the province June 1st, 1710, we cannot decide.

The churches which Archibald Stobo is said, by Dr. Ramsay, to have founded on the Presbyterian plan, are those of WILTON, PON PON, JAMES ISLAND, and CAINHOY. He arrived in Charleston in 1700, and lived, says Dr. Ramsay, nearly half a century afterwards. Whether these, with the church in Charleston, now called the Circular Church, are the "five churches of British Presbyterians," the latter writer speaks of in 1710 (see page 163), we know not; but tradition makes Mr. Stobo to have removed from Charleston to Wilton, in 1704; and to have established that church. We do not know that this tradition rests on any certain foundation.

* Rev. Donald McLeod, and Dr. Auld, in Ramsay, vol. ii., Appendix, 558.

There is no documentary evidence we have met with on which to found it, but it is not improbable.

During these ten years the Episcopalians, who had aroused themselves, after a period of thirty-two years, to the promotion of religion in the colony, continued to extend themselves, with the aid of the society before referred to, and with the substantial aid of the government, who taxed all parties, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers alike, for the salaries, churches, glebes, schools, and school-houses of the favored church. In the parish of Goose Creek, Dr. Le Jeau, who seems to have been an active minister, died in 1717. In St. John's, on the western branch of Cooper river, Mr. Maule pursued his labors, where the French had before established the gospel. Books were distributed at the cost of the society, which are represented as having a good effect in removing prejudices. Particularly the Book of Common Prayer, with "Dr. Beveridge's sermon on the Excellency and Usefulness of the Common Prayer," was of great service. The evidence which this presents is more of a desire to promote Episcopacy than to win souls to Christ. For these books were circulated in Dissenting families, and "among the younger people of the French." In the fatal Indian war, in 1715, he was driven into garrison with the people, was incessantly engaged in his clerical offices, and contracted, through the confinement and fatigue incurred, a disease which terminated his life in 1717. Mr. Osborn was sent to St. Bartholomew's in 1713, but was driven in by the Indians in 1715 to Charlestown, and there died. Mr. Guy, assistant of Mr. Johnson of Charlestown, was sent by the society to St. Helena in 1713, but was also driven back to Charlestown by the rising of the Indians in 1715. "Anabaptist and Presbyterian teachers" had been there before him; but they were without public worship on his arrival. His labors were performed in private houses in different parts. Rev. William Tradewell Bull was appointed minister to St. Paul's in 1712, at the church which had been erected at the head of Stono river in 1708. His parsonage was burnt in the Indian war. Rev. Gilbert Jones was sent to Christ Church parish in 1713, and labored much for the instruction of the negroes as well as their masters. Mr. Taylor was appointed missionary to St. Andrew's in 1711; but disputes arising between him and the parish, he removed to North Carolina in 1717; and was succeeded by Mr. Guy, who, on being driven from St. Helena, went as missionary to Narragansett, in New England, but

now returned on account of his health to Carolina. A church edifice was commenced, in 1719, in St. George, which was separated from St. Andrew's, and erected into a parish in 1717. And in the same year (1719), Rev. Peter Tustian was appointed missionary here, who found the country so divided by party broils, that after a brief ministry he removed to Maryland. Mr. Gideon Johnston, the first commissary of the Bishop of London, continued to officiate at St. Philip's, in Charleston, till April, 1716, when, on going down in a sloop to take leave of Governor Craven, then leaving for England in a British man-of-war, the sloop was capsized and he drowned. Alexander Gardon arrived in Charlestown in 1719, and was elected Rector of St. Philip's.

It is evident from these notices that Episcopacy had awaked from its slumber of more than thirty years over the infant colony of South Carolina, and was now in earnest, and with no small success, striving to spread the *Established* religion of England over this colony, the majority of whom were dissenters from prelatical government. The emigrations of Huguenots, like those of the Independents of New England, were generally accompanied by ministers of the gospel. In the wild woods the church was erected almost as soon as their own dwellings. Episcopacy waited till the colony was increased in wealth and numbers; and then they came too much in the spirit of proselytism and of public dictation, as the national and favored church, and by parish lines put under their own clergy the entire population which did not recalcitrate at so manifest a tyranny. We cannot speak disparagingly of their clergy. But the Rev. Mr. Marston advised the recall of their first missionary, Mr. Thomas, "that he may be maintained a few years at one of the universities, where he may better learn the principles and government of the Church of England, &c., and some other useful learning,"* and informed the bishop of Mr. Thomas's violent temper and conduct. Mr. Taylor, too, was unacceptable to the people. And the Bishop of London avowed to Dr. Doddridge that most of the men whom he had sent out to Virginia were bankrupt in fortune and character. But it were invidious to make such comparisons. No church and no ministry is perfect.†

* Dalcho.

† Yet Bishop Burnet says: "During my whole life, I have lamented that I saw so little true zeal among our clergy. The Dissenters have a great deal among them; but I must own that the main body of our clergy has always appeared to me dead and lifeless." "The Dissenters have a much larger

The concurrent political events of this period were not numerous, though some were of great importance. Charles Craven, secretary of the province, and brother of the palatine, was made governor at a very critical period of its history, and entered upon his office in a spirit of kindness, and won the good-will of all parties. He exhibited the "greatest tenderness towards dissenters," and promised them the uninterrupted enjoyment of their liberties.

In the fall of 1711, there was a rising of the Indians in North Carolina, to which reference has already been made. They are recorded as running from house to house, spreading slaughter among the scattered families wherever they went. One hundred and thirty-seven settlers fell a sacrifice the first night. Their cruelty was accompanied with singular freaks of savage ingenuity. The General Assembly of South Carolina was immediately assembled, and Colonel Barnwell was sent forward through the wilderness with a force of six hundred whites and three hundred and sixty Indian allies, the legislature appointing a day of humiliation and prayer on their behalf. Colonel Barnwell crossed the Neuse river in January, attacked and routed the savage foe, killing in his first engagement three hundred Indians and taking one hundred prisoners, and compelled them to sue for peace. A second massacre was commenced, and South Carolina again sent an army, principally composed of friendly Indians, under Colonel Moore, who laid siege to their fort, killing two hundred of the enemy and capturing eight hundred, who were claimed as a reward by his Indian allies. This savage attempt to exterminate the whites was thus happily defeated.

The coronation of George I. occurred October 12th, 1714. Not long after this event another attempt was made by the Indians to exterminate the colonists and regain their ancient domain. Through the reign of Queen Anne the Yamassees, a powerful tribe, whose residence lay between the Spanish settlements of Florida and Carolina, had stood aloof from the Spaniards and been devoted to the English colonists. They had taken up their residence on the Carolina side of the

share of knowledge among them than is among those who come to our churches." "The gentry are for the most part the worst instructed, and the least knowing of any of their rank I ever went amongst." "A gentleman here," in England, "is often both ill-taught and ill-bred; this makes him hasty and insolent. They grow soon to find it a modish thing, that looks like wit and spirit, to laugh at religion and virtue, and to become crude and unpolished infidels."—*Life and Times*, vol. vi., pp. 183, 186, 195, 198.

* Hewatt, 112; Wheeler, 37.

Savannah river, between it and Port Royal Island, which territory was for a long time after called "The Indian Land." Ere the Carolinians were aware, the Yamassees became alienated by real or imaginary injuries, and their chief warriors were observed to make frequent visits to St. Augustine, and to return loaded with presents. The Spaniards could never lay aside their hostility to the Protestant faith. They were told, probably by some Jesuit priest, that the English were wicked heretics, doomed to hell, as the Yamassees also were if they permitted them to live.

Governor Craven, hearing of some dissatisfaction among the Indians, had already despatched Captain Nairn and Mr. John Cochran to Pocotaligo to know the cause of their discontent. They saw the chief warriors, and offered immediate satisfaction for any wrong. The Indians pretended to be friendly, and treated their guests to a good supper. At night they lay down to sleep in the round-house with the king and chiefs in seeming tranquillity. But the next morning, at break of day [April 15, 1715], the round-house was beset, and the massacre begun. Captain Nairn, John Wright, and Thos. Ruffly were murdered; Mr. Cochran, his wife, and four children were seized as prisoners, and afterwards slain; and above ninety other persons residing at Pocotaligo and on neighboring plantations were put to death. The Indians divided themselves into two parties, one attacking Port Royal and the other St. Bartholomew's. The inhabitants of the former, three hundred in number, went on board a merchant vessel lying in the river, and escaped to Charlestown, among whom was Rev. Mr. Guy, the society's missionary. A few families only fell into the hands of the Indians, and were barbarously tortured. In St. Bartholomew's, one hundred Christians fell into the hands of the Indians; the rest, with Mr. Osborn, the society's missionary, escaped to Charlestown. The Indians came down as far as the Stono, burning houses and churches.*

It was evident that an arrangement had been entered into by the Indians from Florida to Cape Fear to exterminate the whites. On the north they came upon the French on the Santee, and murdered the family of a Mr. Hearne. They then advanced upon Goose Creek. The inhabitants fled before them, except that at one plantation a party of seventy white men and forty negroes threw up a breast-work, and resolved to defend themselves to the last. But perceiving the over-

* See account of the breaking out of the Yamassee War, Boston News of the 13th of June, 1715.—Carroll's Collections, ii., p. 569.

powering numbers of the Indians, they listened to proposals of peace. But the perfidious 'savages, as soon as admitted within their fort, put the 'garrison to death. They were finally arrested near Charleston, and, after a protracted and obstinate engagement, driven back into the wilderness.

It was a time of exceeding distress and danger, and it appears that our Presbyterian ministers, with others, sought safety elsewhere. The following extract from a MS. letter of Cotton Mather to Mr. Rodhin, in Glasgow, dated 6^d, vi^m, 1715, says: "The miserable colonists of *Carolina*, as I am informed by their worthy Scottish ministers, refugees thence, now sojourning in my next neighborhood, were in a fair way to be a religious country under the influence of Presbyterian ministers." But "the people grew so wicked that ye salvages, who had been greatly injured and provoked by them, are broken in upon ym, and have destroyed multitudes of people with such barbarities as no *myrmydons* ever heard of. They have laid ye country in a manner all wast, but ye Capital Town by ye sea side, which is thought can hold out but a little while; and thus a flourishing and opulent colony is covered with a fearful desolation. But it is feared lest ye salvages have entered into a very extensive combination, which may be animated by the *French Canadians*, whereof some other colonies, which are on the worst accounts too much ripened for such things, may feel the most tremendous consequences." Who these "worthy Scottish ministers" were we do not know. Mr. Stobo, Mr. Livingston, and a Mr. Witherspoon, of James Island, are all whose names have reached us as laboring in the colony that could be thus described. Mr. Stobo had probably already gathered a church at Wiltown; and if so, this settlement was temporarily broken up and its inhabitants sought safety in flight.

Hearing of these disasters in Carolina, the Society for Propagating the Gospel wrote to their missionaries expressing their sympathy, and informing them that they had agreed to give them a half-year's salary as a gratuity for their present relief. That this bounty might be enjoyed with all speed, Colonel Rhett was requested to pay all the missionaries and schoolmasters of the society the above-mentioned gratuity; and in case the other clergy, not missionaries, should be in straits in consequence of this public calamity, he should also pay them a sum not exceeding thirty pounds sterling, which the society presented them towards their support, and authorized Colonel Rhett to draw on their treasurer for this

amount. The money was paid as desired; and Rev. Messrs. La Pierre and Richebourg, two French ministers, received thirty pounds each. They were both just preparing to quit the country on account of their great want, but were prevented by so seasonable a relief through the society's bounty. (Humphrey, pp. 101, 102.)

This assistance rendered by the society was very proper, but it was very *discriminating*. The title of the society is "The Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts." It came to be regarded in all the colonies as a society for propagating *Episcopacy* in foreign parts. The feelings with which it was viewed may be seen in the same letter of Cotton Mather from which we have quoted, the original of which is in the Antiquarian Library at Worcester, Mass.

"We are somewhat, though not in the same degree, your fellow-sufferers, in regard of Emigrants from yr Church of England imposing themselves now and then upon us. We live in all amicable correspondence with ye congregation of that way in this populous Town, which doth consist very much of strangers coming in among us. We have had two or three instances in the country; that in a Town of near two hundred Christian families, a little crew of litigious people had need govern. Previous [the words here obliterated] which knew as little of the Ch. of E. as they do of the religion of *Mahomet* or *Confucius*; yett will declare for ye Ch. of E., that so they may have the government appearing on their side. These, although they are few in number, and on all other considerations the most contemptible and scarce-regarded part of the Town, apply themselves to ye Society for Propagation; and ye Society, very little for their honour, send forth and support their missionaries, on those occasions, to maintain confusion in Towns of well-instructed Christians, while at ye same time whole plantations of the Southern Colonies, where are perfect paganism, are left wholly uncared for. To enable themselves ye better for the molestation of ye churches, the Society has sent their briefs over ye churches of ye Dissenters in *England*, to raise money for you. While it is at ye same time observable that in ye more southern Colonies their missionaries (Blades for their morals, too often, like those we have blessed withal,) unaccountably neglect the paganizing plantations, but choose to screw themselves in where a Presbyterian church is gathered; and if a Presbyterian makes a sally to do good in any of the aforesaid plantations, they will presently follow him, to persuade the people that all his ministrations are but nullities. No remonstrance will put a stop to these unaccountable proceedings, nor, perhaps, anything but the eighteenth chapter of ye Revelation."

He uses the same language, and speaks very slightly of the character of the missionaries in a letter to Mr. Walrood, dated 31 of 8th mo., 1716.

The most vigorous measures were now adopted by Governor Craven; and this was necessary, or all had been lost. The entire military force of the colony was not over twelve hundred men. The Indians could muster eight or ten thou-

sand warriors. By his exertions the Indians were driven from their haunts this side of the Savannah, and the colony was freed from this great and threatening danger.

The agents of the colony solicited assistance from the proprietors, but they declared themselves unable to furnish it, and applied for the interposition of the king, offering to repay the expense he should incur. This request was acceded to, and munitions of war were sent. The proprietors granted the Yamassee lands, which extended from the head of Combahee to Fort Moore on the Savannah, and they were appropriated by the Assembly to all Protestant emigrants. A bounty was offered for the importation of white servants. The agent in England petitioned for some of the prisoners taken in the Scotch rebellion. Five hundred men from Ireland transported themselves to Carolina to take the benefit of the acts of the legislature. But the proprietors afterwards ordered the Indian lands to be surveyed and partitioned off into large baronies. The Irish emigrants having spent what little money they had, were reduced to great straits, and either came to beggary and an untimely end, or made their way to the northern colonies, and many old settlers deserted the land they had occupied. At length the people, their patience being exhausted by the unwillingness or inability of the proprietors to aid them, and by their perverse adherence to the aristocratical and impracticable plan of the colony, displaced the governor appointed by them, and elected and proclaimed James Moore governor of South Carolina, in the name of his majesty the King of England.

This period, 1710-1720, was marked in the religious history of England with some important events. In the beginning of it High Church bigotry was greatly aroused, principally in connection with the violent railings of Dr. Sacheverell against Dissenters and Low Churchmen. He was impeached and tried, February 27th, 1710. He was found guilty by the British parliament, but protected by Queen Anne. In May, 1714, the Schism Bill, which prohibited any one from being an instructor or tutor of youth, unless he conformed to the liturgy of the Church of England, and obtained a license from the ecclesiastical authorities, passed both houses of Parliament, and on June 25th, 1714, received the royal assent, and was to go into effect on the first of August; but on that dreaded day Queen Anne was summoned to the tribunal of God; and bigotry was defeated by the accession to the English throne of George I., of the house of Brunswick, a firm

friend of liberty of conscience, who visited with his displeasure all instances of special ecclesiastical tyranny which occurred.* Among the Dissenters were men of influence and worth, the most illustrious of whom were Dr. Isaac Watts and Matthew Henry, the one awakening and diffusing vital godliness by his heavenly muse, and the other furnishing food to piety and devotion in his celebrated commentary on the Scriptures, and, besides his indefatigable labors in his own pulpit, making annual excursions as an itinerant missionary through extensive districts of country, till his lamented death, June 22d, 1714.

Arianism first made its appearance in the Church of England. But in a few years after the publication of the writings of Clarke and Whiston, two Presbyterian ministers of that mongrel form which Presbyterianism had assumed in England, viz.: Joseph Hallet and James Pierce, of Exeter, in 1717 began to broach Arian errors. The thirteen elders of the city of Exeter called on Mr. Pierce to preach on the divinity of Christ. Not receiving any satisfaction by his discourse or otherwise, they debarred them from the pulpits of their churches.

In Scotland, early in this period, 1710-1720, semi-Arminian doctrines began to be introduced by the younger clergy; and the right of presentation by lay patrons of ministers to churches, which is a sad infringement of the independency of the church and the headship of Christ, was again enacted by Parliament, and received the sanction of the Queen. Arminian and Pelagian sentiments continued to spread, and Professor Simpson, who occupied the chair of theology in the University of Glasgow, was arraigned for his advocacy of these errors. But the Assembly of 1717, many of the members of which had been his pupils, treated him with great lenity, merely prohibiting him from using those inaccurate and incautious expressions which they acknowledged him to have uttered. Arminian notions continued to be imported both from Holland and England; the views of Baxter respecting the doctrines of grace, which bend towards the Arminian scheme, were followed by some. Others maintained that the gospel is a new law or constitution, promising salvation on a *condition*,—this condition being, in the view of some, faith; in the view of others, faith and repentance, or faith, repentance, and sincere though imperfect obedience. These were termed *Neonomians*, and their opponents *Antinomians*.

* Timpson's British Eccl. Hist., 371.

In Ireland the Presbyterian clergy continued to suffer more or less from the tyranny of the Established Church. "The melancholy apprehension of these things has put several of us," say they, in an address to the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, October, 1713, "upon thoughts of transplanting ourselves to America, that we may there in a wilderness enjoy, by the blessing of God, that ease and quiet to our consciences, persons, and families, which is denied us in our native country."* The Schism Bill, before alluded to, created disturbances in Ireland. On account of their resistance to it the Presbyterian churches in the towns of Antrim, Downpatrick, and Rathfriland were nailed up. These acts of violence ceased on the death of Anne and the accession of George I. The lax doctrines which were becoming current in Scotland passed over into Ireland and were advocated by a number of the younger and most intelligent clergy. Similar opinions with those of Professor Simpson were entertained. It was held that every man's persuasion was the sole rule of faith and conduct, that there was no culpability in honest error, and that none had a right to exclude from Christian fellowship those who walk according to their own persuasions on non-essentials, and that all doctrines were non-essential on which "human reason and Christian sincerity permitted men to differ." These brethren also announced their opposition to subscribing confessions of faith as tests of orthodoxy. By their opponents they were called *New Lights*, and their views were the beginning of a controversy which reached far down in the eighteenth century, and traces of which may be found in our own history.

* Reid's Hist. Pres. Ch. in Ireland, iii., 173.

BOOK SIXTH.

A. D. 1720-1730.

CHAPTER I.

IN the period from 1720-1730, the ecclesiastical notices of the "Dissenting" churches of South Carolina are few in number. The hurricane of 1713, which beat upon the house of Rev. Mr. Livingston, at the foot of East Bay, carried away or destroyed the records of the CHURCH IN CHARLESTON. None exist of any church, except the Episcopalian, which, being a state establishment, has its history in the early periods substantially preserved in the public archives. We learn from Dr. Ramsay, that Rev. William Livingston's labors were continued in that church beyond the year 1720, some time after which he died. Of the birth, education, and other circumstances of his early life little is known. He was a respectable and useful preacher. He left one daughter and three sons. From these descended families of the name of Tunno and Stewart, the latter of whom, in Dr. Ramsay's time, were living near Dorchester. By his and Mr. Stobo's efforts there seems to have arisen a more perfect appreciation of Presbyterian polity among a part at least of that congregation. In the year 1724, forty-three persons, probably heads of families, members of the church or congregation, subscribed a call inviting the Rev. Nathan Bassett to be their minister. They call themselves the members of the Presbyterian church in Charlestown, and others resorting to this public place of worship. They state that they had previously made application to the Rev. Messrs. Colman and Cooper, ministers of the gospel in Boston, to send them "a pious, able, ordained Presbyterian minister," and that they had prevailed on him, the Rev. Nathan Bassett, to come among them. Of the persons sent to, Drs. Colman and Cooper, Colman was not a Congregational, but a Presbyterian clergyman, of the English model.* Benjamin Colman was born in Boston, October 19th, 1673, of parents who had emigrated

* Wodrow of Scotland, Correspondence, vol. ii., 284. Colman, in his letter to Wodrow, Dec. 9th, 1717, says, "We are entirely upon the Presbyterian foot," p. 367.

from London. He was graduated at Harvard, in 1692. Having taken his second degree at Harvard, he embarked on the 20th of July, 1695, for England, that he might prosecute his studies further. He was present at the conferences between Howe, Bates, Mead, Mather, and others, for the reconciliation of Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Invited by Sir Henry Ashurst, then agent for the New England colonies, to his country-seat near Oxford, he made the acquaintance of Dr. Hall, Bishop of Bristol; Dr. Hough, Bishop of Oxford; and Dr. Gastrell, afterwards Bishop of Chester; who politely showed him the colleges, "with what was rare and curious in them." He was called from Oxford by the Presbyterian board at London, to take charge of a small church at Cambridge, where he preached for a short time; then at Ipswich. Then he was appointed by the board to succeed Mr. Taylor, at Bath, which some told him "was the best stirrup in England whereby to mount the best pulpits which might be vacant." Thence he was called to a new church [Brattle Street] in Boston. The persons calling him stipulated that the Holy Scriptures should be publicly read every Sabbath in the worship of God, "which was not practised in New England, and that they might lay aside the relation of experiences, which were imposed in other churches, in order to the admission of persons to the Lord's table." He arrived at London, August 1st, 1699, and on the 4th of that month was ordained by the Presbytery. He was a Presbyterian in church government, though not connected with any Presbytery in this country, and was a man of singular eloquence and influence. In 1731 he was honored with the degree of D. D. from the University of Glasgow. His correspondence with Mr. Hollis, whom he had known at Bath, resulted in the foundation of two professorships and ten scholarships at Cambridge, and in the appointment of Rev. Edward Wigglesworth, a thorough Calvinist, as the first professor of theology. He received from Isaac Hollis, nephew of Thomas, £340 for the poor of the New England churches, and large sums for the Indian missions, and some £10,432 from Mr. Holden, his widow, and her daughters, for various religious purposes.* Rev. William Cooper was graduated at Harvard, 1712, and ordained as colleague with Dr. Colman, May 23d, 1716. He also was a man eminent for piety, talents, and usefulness. These facts, which might be much more extended, serve to show the character of the men

* Colman's Letter to Wodrow, Correspondence, iii., 25.

by whom Mr. Bassett was sent to Charleston, and, by inference, his own views in theology. He seems to have been a member of the Presbytery, but was regarded by Dr. Ramsay as a Congregationalist in church government. He was a graduate of Harvard University, and received the degree of A.M. in 1719. He was ordained in Boston on the 14th of April, 1724, with a view to his becoming pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Charlestown.* Though coming with suitable introductions to the governor, General Francis Nicholson, he was rudely repulsed by him, and treated in a most ungenerous and ungentlemanly manner. A *scire facias* had been taken out by the attorney-general against the proprietors, as having forfeited their charter. In September, 1720, General Nicholson was appointed Governor, and much was expected from his experience in provincial affairs, as he had been the governor of several colonies before.† He is represented as possessed of all the honorable principles of a good soldier: as generous, bold, and resolute; as a warm friend of the king and his country. As he was the first royal governor, he was received with enthusiasm by the people, who were grateful for their deliverance from proprietary blunders and misrule, who laid aside all their animosities, and addressed themselves heartily to those efforts which were needed for the public well-being. "Though he was bred a soldier," says Hewat, "and was profane, passionate, and headstrong himself, yet he was not insensible of the great advantage of religion to society, and contributed not a little to its interest in Carolina, both by his public influence and private generosity."‡ Hewat goes on to mention the measures taken by him for the promotion of religion, all of which were directed to the more perfect

* "On Tuesday, inst., the Rev. N. Bassett was ordained pastor of the Presbyterian Church, in Charles Town, South Carolina."—Boston News-Letter of Thursday, April 16th, 1724. Library of Mass. Hist. Soc., Boston.

† "London, Nov. 23d, 1721. Genl. Nicholson, his Majesty's Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of the Province of South Carolina, had the Honor to kiss his Majesty's hand for that Government. That gentleman is shortly to set out for that country, with an Independent Company of Soldiers, who are to embark on board the Caroline and Mary, at Portsmouth."—Boston News-Letter of April 25th, 1721. Lib. of Mass. Hist. Soc.

‡ "Francis Nicholson, now Sir Francis, busy on the colonial stage for thirty years preceding, was sent to South Carolina as provisional Royal Governor. Always arbitrary in his principles and temper, Nicholson was now old and peevish; but he was poor, and he had learned by experience the necessity of a certain accommodation to the wishes of the colonists. Having been 'falsely sworn out of Virginia, and lied out of Nova Scotia,'—at least so he represented—he resolved to make matters easy in Carolina."—Hildreth, Hist. of the U. S., ii., 289.

establishment of the Episcopal church, showing that this was the only aspect of religion he could recognize. The following extract from a letter of Mr. Bassett, intimates that the governor had first treated him with respect, but saw fit to heap upon him and those who had been instrumental in his coming, the vilest abuse. The letter is probably addressed to Drs. Colman and Cooper.

"REVD. SIRs:—The Governor * * * * * regardless of his promises, has treated me with heat & outrage, and very liberally bestowed his curses upon our country in general; at all which, I must confess his Ex—cy has greater talent, than at better things. Upon a request from his Ex—cy, I waited upon him in his chamber, where & when I was accosted in boorish dialect, wth a 'how dare the ministers of Boston, be such impudent dogs as to ordain you for and send you to a particular place in *my* Government.' I reply^d that 'I did not know that they had; that the testimonials of my ordination were general and at large.' Upon which he answered in great heat, 'I can show you that they have done it,' and wth all produced y^e Gazett or Newspaper in which is this paragraph—'On y^e 14th Instant, &c., ordained y^e R^d N. B. Pastor for y^e Presbyterian Church in Charleston, So. Carolina,' which when I had read I told him y^t 'not y^e ministers, but scribblers of news had inserted that.' He replied, 'they have *done* it, & by so doing have encroached upon my prerogative, and broke in upon y^e King's orders, for he alone had power to do it, inasmuch as he was the King's Governor here, and by him was appointed to take care of y^e church. And that this was not the first time you had shewn y^r selves rebellious and contrary to Government, & y^t you were all a pack of impudent Dogs.' 'They have treated me barbarously, and intimated that they had lately printed a pamphlet' (Ref^r I suppose to that called 'Bermudas Justice'), 'in which were scurrilous reflections upon him and his proceedings.' I reply^d I know nothing about it, and that I was not accountable for what they had done in N. England, but should take care while in his Excellency's government to behave myself in such a sort as to give him no just cause of offence. Then he returned to my ordination, and alleged that the ministers had ordained me for, and sent me to, this particular place in his government, and that he would send me back again. And that they had best take care how they sent any more of that country here. Then says he, 'I demand and require you in the King's name, to shew me by what authority you came here.' I replied, 'Your Ex—y knows by what authority I came and at whose request.' Then says he, 'I will have it under your hand—under your hand—and unless I did it he would by a warrant send me back again.' 'I know,' says he, 'no Presbyterians here, nor will I know any, the laws are not for them but against them. Indeed,' says he, 'the King has given indulgence to all but Papists, but that has nothing to do with the plantations, and if any one presumes to call himself Presbyter, but episcopally ordained, I will lay him neck and heels,' with a large, &c., as little to the purpose, and as foreign to his power & commission. Then he re-demanded me, in the King's name, to produce him under my hand, my authority for coming here, under penalty of being sent back. 'And let your friends protect you how they can, and complain to the King if they please, I care not.' On which I took my leave, and am daily expecting a second rally."—Archives of General Assembly.

In a subsequent communication from Mr. Bassett, February 12th, 1724-5, he states that he had been free from threats and assaults—that the governor has prejudices against the

Dissenters, as of "factious and republican principles not worthy to be tolerated in his Majesty's dominions,"—that he, in instructions to a subordinate, "wished to recall privileges granted to Dissenters, as they aimed at independency of the State, as in New England, and it must be largely talked of, &c." These extracts reveal an unfriendly spirit towards Dissenters, which seems to have largely prevailed among the royal governors in South Carolina.

The original building used by the church in Charleston was but forty feet square and slightly built. It was much out of repair, and in 1729 they commenced the undertaking of providing themselves with a new house of worship. The Act of the Congregation begins with a formal preamble, bearing date Dec. 18th, 1729, as follows:

"SOUTH CAROLINA.

Whereas the present Publick Meeting House in Charlestown, which in the early times, or beginning of the settlement thereof, was erected for the publick worship of God, after the *Presbyterial* form and discipline, is now by long time gone to decay, and become very old and out of repair:

And whereas, by God's blessing, not only the inhabitants of the said Town are increased, but by means of the vast growth of our trade, a great number of sea-faring and transient persons come to, and frequent this port, so that the said Meeting House is also found to be too small and inconvenient to receive and contain the whole number of people which resort to it for worship," &c.

The subscription list was signed by one hundred and four persons, the subscriptions varying from one pound ten shillings to one hundred pounds each. This church was finished and the pews assigned to the subscribers in 1732. Being a wooden building and painted white, it was the occasion of a new designation, "The White Meeting," by which the church was vulgarly known. In this document the true style of the church is given as Presbyterian, and it is called "The Presbyterian Church" in its records throughout the earlier period of its existence, so far as any records remain.

The Congregational church at DORCHESTER lost the services of their first pastor, Rev. Joseph Lord, in 1720. He returned to Massachusetts, and on the 15th of June, 1720, he was installed over the church in Chatham. He was its first pastor, and at the organization the number of its male members was but seven. The church was organized on the plan of the half-way covenant, but Mr. Lord was a rigid disciplinarian, extending the watch and censure of the church to the baptized children, and this he had probably done in his ministry in Carolina. He died June 6th, 1748, after a ministry in

Chatham of twenty-eight years, during which one hundred and forty-three were admitted to full communion, thirteen to the half-way covenant, and four hundred and ninety-two were baptized. He was succeeded in the Dorchester church by the Rev. Hugh Fisher.

Another clergyman came on the stage of action at this time, who occupied a conspicuous place in Charleston afterwards. This was Josiah Smith, who was grandson of the Landgrave Thomas Smith, who was governor of the colony in 1693. He was born in Charleston in 1704, and was graduated at Harvard College, in Massachusetts, in 1725. He was ordained the next year, July 11th, 1726, as minister for Bermuda. The brother of the first Landgrave Smith had removed to Boston, and one branch of the family was settled there, which may have been one inducement with Mr. Smith to seek his education in that vicinity. Dr. Ramsay says, "he was the first native of Carolina who obtained a degree from a college." In this he was mistaken, for Dr. George Smith, second son of the first landgrave, born in Charleston in 1672, took a degree at Edinburgh in 1700. How long Mr. Smith remained on the island of Bermuda we do not know; but he became pastor of the church at CAINHOY, probably as early as 1728. Cainhoy is on the Wando river, about twelve miles from Charleston. According to the statement of Dr. Ramsay, the church was gathered by Archibald Stobo, and was a Presbyterian church, while that on Wando Neck, the WAPPETAW church, was Congregational. The date of the origin of these churches we have not been able to ascertain. Whether that at Wappetaw can in any sense, even as imperfectly organized, go back to the original settlements of the New Englanders, in Governor Archdale's time, 1695, 1696, we cannot determine. In a note to his "Description of Carolina," published in London, 1707, he says: "It is remarkable that the *French* landed at *Sewee*, where many of the *New England* Men were planted, and beat off the *French*, and killed many of them, and this was Ten Years after this Letter" (one addressed to him from Ipswich, Mass., 26th of June, 1696—see p. 119), which would seem to imply that the emigrants from Ipswich, referred to in that letter, really came into the province and settled on Sewee Bay, where there are still the remains of a frequent settlement, embraced now within the limits of certain large plantations. A religious people who were attracted to Carolina because there were "discreet men, ministers in it, who now design the spreading

of the gospel," would have some form of religious worship; private, certainly, at all times, and public as soon as their circumstances would admit. Wappetaw church is about four miles from Sewee Bay and about fourteen miles from Charleston, on the road to Georgetown. The Rev. Wm. Porter may have been their minister during this decade.

WILTON CHURCH.—The church takes its name from the fact that the first house of worship was erected at Wilton (commonly called Wiltown) Bluff, a beautiful and picturesque spot in St. Paul's Parish, Colleton District, on the east bank of the Edisto river, about four miles from the present house of worship. Standing on the Bluff, one is surrounded by wide-spreading live-oaks, and looks over the beautiful stream below him on an extensive reach of country covered by rice-fields, which in spring-time or at harvest is one of the loveliest prospects in the low country of the State. On the site formerly occupied by the church now stands an Episcopal church, built among the graves in which sleep the ashes of those who died in the Presbyterian faith. The reason for the removal of the church to another spot was, that Wilton Bluff, being situated at one extremity of the parish, was not central enough to accommodate those of the congregation who lived at a distance.*

It is to be regretted that there are no materials from which a history of Wilton church can be collected. There are no sessional records in existence, and the "Minutes of the Board of Trustees" reach back only a few years. All the information that can be obtained consists of a few detached facts, found in some old fragments of the moneyed accounts of the church.

[1728.] The earliest notice of the church is found in a paper, containing a mutilated copy of some "articles of agreement," drawn up by the Presbyterian worshippers at Wilton Bluff. To this document the name of *Archibald Stobo* is signed in his own handwriting; and together with his are the signatures of *four elders* and *six deacons*. This paper was drafted early in the year 1728, and proves that at that time a church, regularly organized, fully officered, and considerable in numbers, existed at Wilton Bluff. This document, as well

* The town of Wilton, first known as New London, was settled very early. Elections were ordered to be held in it in 1683. William Livingston held a town lot in it in 1714, described as being on King's Square, and bounded westward by Westminster street. But its prosperity was interrupted by the Indian insurrection in 1715, though it afterwards revived.

as others, seems to suppose the existence of the congregation previously to that date; but unfortunately there are no records pertaining to it before that time.

The document thus signed consists of a series of articles, eight in number, which bind the church to create by free-will offerings, made at the spring sacrament, "yearly forever," or by donations and legacies, a pious fund, the principal of which is to be intrusted to the management of the minister and church session, and the interest to be expended for the support of the minister of that church, or the building and repairing of Presbyterian churches, or the relief of the poor of that church and persuasion, or of others in need. The paper is expressed in terms of much force and solemnity. "All this we do," say the parties, "in the sight of God, as witness our hands."

Archd. Stobo, Minr.,	} <i>Elders.</i>	Paul Hamilton,	} <i>Deacons.</i>
X. Wilkinson,		Timothy Hendrix,	
Joseph Rusell,		Richard Ashe,	
Samuel Lowle,		Wm. O'Neill,	
Z. M. Edings,		George Farleye,	
		Wm. McMechen,	

The JAMES ISLAND church, as we have reason to believe, had the Rev. John Witherspoon (or Wotherspoon) as its pastor during these ten years, and perhaps before, while the JOHN'S ISLAND church enjoyed the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Turnbull.

The BETHEL Presbyterian church and congregation of PON PON, St. Bartholomew's parish, Colleton (now Walterborough church), was founded and organized in 1728, when the first church edifice was built. The first minister was the Rev. Archibald Stobo, who, says Dr. Ramsay, was its founder. The survivors of the early trustees in the earliest records of the congregation now extant, speak of transactions had by their predecessors of which no record had been preserved. That Mr. Joseph Didcott and Mr. George Farley collected money and built "the old meeting house, which cost near £400 currency, where the Rev. Mr. Archibald Stobo used to preach once a month, and after that once in three weeks." That "Mr. John Andrew, sen., Mr. John Mitchell, and Mr. Thomas Buer, with Mr. George Farley, collected money and bought land for a parsonage, which cost £300."

The Presbyterian element seems to have been gaining strength in CHARLESTON during the ministry of Mr. Stobo and Mr. Livingston, and the controversies which now arose, and

which pervaded the Presbyterian church in the old world and the new, make us first cognizant of the existence of a Presbytery. These had reference to subscription to the Westminster Confession. The propriety and expediency of this was warmly debated among the English Dissenters. John Howe, of the English Presbyterian church, maintained in respect to "schemes or collections of doctrines, reduced into an order (as gold formed into a vessel, whereas truth, as it lies in the holy Scriptures, is as gold in the mass), may be of use (as they have been in use in the church in all ages), provided they be allowed to be looked upon but as a *mensuora mensurata*, reserving unto the Scriptures the honor of being the only *mensura mensurans*, and so that we only own them as *agreeable to the Scriptures*: and again, that we declare we take them to be agreeable thereunto in the main, or for *substance*." Others insisted on a strict and literal adherence to the words of the Confession as being agreeable to the Scriptures. Others still, were opposed to requiring these tests of orthodoxy. A similar controversy arose in Ireland, and was waged between those who were zealous for the truth, and those who either themselves held latitudinarian opinions, or were the apologists of those who did so. It began to be understood in Ireland that certain ministers of the Belfast society acknowledged doubts concerning the deity of Christ, and were disposed to follow the views of Whiston, Clarke, and Hoadly, of England, and Prof. Simpson, of Scotland, and to hold, as the Presbyterian churches in Switzerland had done, that sincerity is the only thing to be regarded in religious fellowship. Under these circumstances the General Synod of the Irish church proposed the expedient, for the purpose of allaying the fears of the people, of allowing all who chose, the privilege of anew subscribing the Confession of Faith. This was opposed by the Belfast society with all their new-born arguments against subscribing any human formula. The measure was carried, and the Irish Presbyterian clergy were divided into two parties, the *Subscribers* and the *Non-subscribers*. These parties were in conflict with each other continually, until, in 1726, the non-subscribers were excluded from the synod, though not from Christian fellowship, ministerial communion, nor from the "royal bounty." The non-subscribers withdrew and formed the Antrim Presbytery.—(Reid, iii., 240, 237.)

During the period antecedent to our national independence, the church in America felt a lively and quick sympathy with the church in Great Britain. The same controversy as

to the propriety of insisting upon rigid subscription arose in the synod of Philadelphia. In 1727 the Rev. Mr. Thompson, of Lewistown, introduced an overture requiring of all candidates, and actual ministers coming into their bounds, strict subscription, or acknowledgment *coram presbyteris*, of the Confession. Mr. Dickenson opposed it, affirming that "to shut out of the ministry non-subscribers is to make the Confession, not the Bible, our standard, and is an invasion of the royalty of Christ." The synod, however, passed what is called "the Adopting Act" in 1728, adopting the Confession and Catechisms, except the clauses in the XXth and XXIst chapters, respecting the powers of the civil magistrate.—(Hodge, i., p. 150.)

We have the testimony of the church in Charleston that Mr. Bassett "sat in Presbytery." On March 1st, 1750, they addressed a letter to Drs. Guise, Doddridge, and Jennings. At this time they state that they had come to prefer the congregational form of government. They speak of the charter of the colony as granting liberty of conscience, and say that soon after the Act of Uniformity many Dissenters came into it. "Upwards of sixty years ago," say they, "a church, consisting of English and Scotch Dissenters, settled here, and had its ministers from New England." "About fifty years since a minister, who was born and educated in Scotland, happening (in his travels) to come into the province, was made pastor of the church, and being strongly attached to the Presbyterian form of government, some uneasiness arose and continued in the congregation even through the whole time of his successor, who was a minister from Ireland, and proved more moderate in respect to church government. After the death of the latter an invitation was sent to New England, whence we had our next minister, who being also a moderate man (though he associated with the ministers of, and *sat in, Presbytery*), our brethren of the Scotch nation saw fit to separate," &c. The Scotch minister here referred to was Mr. Stobo, the Irish was Mr. Livingston, the minister from New England, Mr. Bassett. There was a Presbytery then in existence in South Carolina during the ministry of Mr. Bassett. At what period it was organized we are unable to discover.

It might be argued that as the Scotch ministers sent out to New Caledonia were directed to form a Presbytery immediately in that colony, Mr. Stobo would not postpone the organization of one here longer than was necessary. Mr. Livingston joined him in 1704 or earlier. Mr. Witherspoon, of

James Island, may have entered the colony early in the century. Cotton Mather, in 1715, could speak of the worthy Scotch ministers, fugitives from Carolina, then near him. Dr. Hewat's testimony, whose arrival in Carolina was thirty-five years later, must have rested on the statements of others. Yet as Mr. Livingston's name is not mentioned by him as among its founders, and he died some time after 1720, it is not probable that this Presbytery, or Association, as he terms it, existed much earlier than 1728. It consisted of Scotch, or Scotch-Irish ministers, to whom some others of a different origin probably became united. The same differences of opinion alluded to in the preceding extract partially prevailed in it, and it was agitated with the same controversy about subscription to the Confession which pervaded the Presbyterian churches of Britain and America. "The Rev. Josiah Smith, of Cain-hoy," says Mr. Webster, whose industry and research brought to notice the proofs which remain of this controversy, "and Mr. Bassett, of Charleston, appeared as *non-subscribers*. The former represented to Dr. Colman that the matter was urged in an unbrotherly and unchristian manner by the Scotch brethren. He published a sermon in 1729—"Human Impositions proved unscriptural; or, the Divine Right of Private Judgment." The Rev. Hugh Fisher, of Dorchester, South Carolina, published, on the opposite side, a sermon entitled "A Preservative against Dangerous Errors in the Union of the Holy One." Smith's reply was headed, "No New Thing for Good Men to be Evil spoken of." Smith said they denied the right of private judgment, and insisted on his putting the Confession on the same footing with the Bible. This they of course denied, and charged him with saying that Pierce, of Exeter, had as good right to hold his heretical views of the Trinity as they had to hold the truth. He declared that he believed everything in the Westminster Confession except the clauses on the power of the civil magistrate, on the divine right of ruling elders, and on the subject of marriage with a wife's kindred. "There is but one book I prefer to it." His adherence was read in Presbytery, but the majority refused to accept it, unless he subscribed also seven articles of their framing. The probability is that Mr. Smith, if a member before, ceased to act with Presbytery from this time. The difficulty continued from March 1728-9 to 1731. The "White Meeting House" in Charleston had been occupied by Presbyterians and Independents: the Presbyterians withdrew, and the line of separation was drawn between the two

bodies, not because of their different modes of church government, but as subscribers and non-subscribers.”*

These proceedings seem to have annoyed Mr. Smith. In a letter to Dr. Colman, dated at Cainhoy, October 12th, 1730, among the MSS. of the Mass. Hist. Soc., he says :

“I am not only censured as an Heretick in General, and opposing the Doctrines of the *Westminster Confession*, but charged with the particular opinions of Arius and Arminius, though no minister of my years has preached them down more than I. For these Reasons I lately Preached the Sermon that is herewith sent to the Press.” “I observe in your last Letter a Friendly Reproof for Engaging in a Controversy, which indeed has been a Wasp’s Nest all over the World where it has come, and as You justly observ’d to Me, has no mercy upon Names, Families, Serviceableness, nor nothing else. But had you been here upon the Spot, and seen what our *Scotch Brethren* were aiming at, Had you heard the Sermon which Mr. Fisher Preached (in the room of which he has plainly published another), and did you know the long Consultation of my own Mind and the previous advice of some judicious Friends upon which I acted, I believe I should not appear so sudden in conduct as you are ready to think.”

These extracts reveal to us the existence of that Presbytery afterwards recognized under the names Presbytery of the Province, Presbytery of South Carolina, and Presbytery of Charlestown, and which never was connected with other similar bodies in this country under any provincial or national synod or assembly. Its clerical members, as far as we can gather, were at this time, Rev. Archibald Stobo, Rev. Hugh Fisher, Rev. Nathan Bassett, Rev. Josiah Smith, Rev. John Witherspoon, whose history we are not able to ascertain, but who died as pastor of the Presbyterian church on JAMES ISLAND, whose death alone is noticed in any contemporaneous document known to us, and which occurred on the 15th of August, 1734. The Rev. William Porter, we have reason to believe, was at this time minister of the Wappetaw Independent church, on Wando Neck. His name appears in this controversy, as a non-subscriber. (Fisher’s Reply, pp. 93, 97).

The Presbyterian church on JOHN’S ISLAND must have existed as early as 1720, if not before. Dr. Hewatt says, that at the formation of the Presbytery, churches had been erected “in three of the maritime islands.” John’s Island is needed to make up the three. It is the current tradition, as was admitted on both sides in the Chancery suit in 1840, that this church existed in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. It is possible that the Rev. Mr. Turnbull, whose name will be mentioned hereafter, was preaching here during some of the years of which we are now speaking.

* Webster, Hist. Pres. Ch., p. 109, and the Library of the Mass. Hist. Soc.

CHAPTER II.

THE FRENCH CHURCHES out of Charleston began, in the period of which we now treat, to become more assimilated to the Episcopal church, and to lose their distinctive Presbyterian character. That on the western branch of Cooper river had already surrendered its independent existence. This may have arisen in part from their desire to become assimilated to the established religion of the country in which they had found refuge and protection, and so to remove those causes of national jealousy from which they had suffered ; in part from the similarity of worship in both churches arising out of the use of a liturgy ; in part from the difficulty of obtaining ministers of their own faith ; and in part, also, from the fact that pastors were provided by the zeal of the English church, their salaries paid, and their churches, parsonages, school-houses, built and kept in repair at public expense ; while all these things came as a heavy burden upon a people few in numbers and settled in a new country. Probably their greatest reason was the difficulty they encountered in their attempts to keep up the succession of their ministry. Their agents, by whom they sought to bring out other clergymen, had proved unsuccessful or unfaithful. They had been included within the parish bounds marked out as the cure of the Episcopal clergy ; and they fell in, at length, with those arrangements which were furnished to their hand. Much more consistent would it have been in them to have perpetuated, as other branches of the Presbyterian church have done, their own distinctive character, or to have cordially united with their Presbyterian brethren of Scotch, Irish, and English descent, in making one common cause in favor of those principles which the ancestors of each maintained. In 1720, Rev. Albert Pouderaus, a French clergyman, was sent over by the Bishop of London, and became the successor of the Rev. Claude Philippe de Richebourg, the Huguenot pastor of the French church on Santee. Dr. Dalcho has put Richebourg in the list of Episcopal clergymen. The Act of the Legislature of 1706, constituting the French settlement on the Santee a parish, at the same time declares, that "no payment for the support of a minister shall commence before the arrival in the province of a minister sent by the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London, or his successor."

Mr. Pouderaus was the first minister so sent, and the first rector therefore of St. James, Santee. There was wisdom displayed in sending a Frenchman to gain the French. He continued rector of the parish until his death, in 1730. The Huguenot church on the western branch of Cooper river had already become merged in the parish church of St. John's, Berkley, on the death [in 1712] of their minister, Rev. Florent Philippe Trouillart. La Pierre, minister of the Huguenot settlement at Orange Quarter, died in 1728. Being in necessitous circumstances, he had received from the assembly appropriations from time to time, and additions to a scanty salary. The Rev. John James Tissot was appointed to the parish of St. Denis, in which this congregation was, in 1729, and arrived in 1730. It has however been doubted whether the Huguenot church ceased to exist so early as this, or whether it still preserved its independent organization.

We have seen that Rev. Mr. Boisseau was minister of the FRENCH CHURCH IN CHARLESTON in 1712. The duration of his ministry is unknown. There seems to have been an interval of difficulty. "In 1724, the minutes of the French Reformed church in London mention the receipt of a letter from the French Reformed church of Charleston, asking their aid in obtaining a pastor; but no notice of their action." (Burns' History of the For. Refd. Chhs. in G. B.)

"I have read," says Daniel Ravenel, Esq., of Charleston, from whose manuscript we now quote, "in the letter-book of Isaac Mazyck, the Immigrant, two letters addressed by him to Mr. Godin, a refugee to So. Carolina, then in Europe. The first was dated in 1724, the second in 1725. The first is a reply to a letter to Mr. Godin, who must have been requested to make efforts to procure a minister, and who had stated that having occasion to leave London, he had committed the matter to his brother. Mr. Mazyck complains that he transferred so important a commission to one known to favor 'the union of your church with the Episcopal.' His second letter is despondent. He says 'efforts will now be too late. The church is going over to the Church Establishment.' His apprehensions we know were not formally realized. But they show how nearly this church had then lost its distinctive character. It had no doubt been deeply agitated and divided. Their brethren in the country parishes had relinquished their original worship, by accepting incorporation under the Church Act of 1706. The same method had been adopted by the Refugees in the other colonies. Men with families were anxious to provide for them a worship less liable to interruption than their own. We recognize grounds for conflict in many minds. The building of St. Philip's church was commenced during these difficulties. The Act for building it was passed in March, 1710. It was to be built at public cost. It was to be sustained on part of the Establishment. It had the promise of permanency and prosperity. And the wisdom of an Establishment was the general sentiment of the day. The oldest book now owned by St. Philip's church is a book of the minutes of the vestry and wardens, commencing 10th of April, 1732. At that date we find the names of Samuel Prioleau and Gabriel Manigault

among the vestrymen, and soon after, of John Laurens as a warden. These were Huguenots. Pierre Manigault, another Huguenot, holds the grant for his pew (No. 20), which bears date 17 Aug., 1724, and his descendants have ever since worshipped there. But the name has always been until within a few years in the membership of the corporation of the French church. The family have an ancient vault in the cemetery, in which the dead of succeeding generations have reposed.

"While we may lament the diversion for which there were so many just reasons, and to which in process of time all had to yield, we must admire the constancy of those who under so many discouragements preserved and transmitted the original character of this church.

The church was vacant in 1725. The next minister of whom we have any knowledge was Rev. Mr. Lescot, but it cannot be ascertained in what year his ministry commenced. Dr. Ramsay dates the commencement of Rev. Francis Guichard's ministry in 1722, and its termination in 1753, but more accurate information fixes its commencement at 1734, in the next decade.

Among the descendants of the French refugees, there existed an instance of fanaticism, surpassing in some particulars those which were exhibited in the South of France at the close of the preceding century and the commencement of this, and which had been stimulated by the reveries of Pierre Jurieu, French minister of the Walloon church of Rotterdam, who had declared, in his exposition of the Apocalypse, that France was the place of the great city where the witnesses mentioned by St. John (Rev. xi.) lay dead but not buried; and who computed the time of their resurrection to life. These wild notions were taken up by some of the more ignorant and excitable of the refugees in England, to the great scandal of the more sober and intelligent, and were made matters of church discipline by the elders of the Savoy Congregation in London, in 1706, 1707. An instance of still more deplorable delusion occurred in Carolina, of which Rev. Alexander Garden, of Charleston, gave the following account:

"The family of Dutartre, consisting of four sons and four daughters, were descendants of French refugees, who came into Carolina after the revocation of the edict of Nantz. They lived in Orange-quarter, and though in low circumstances always maintained an honest character, and were esteemed by their neighbors persons of blameless and irreproachable lives. But at this time a strolling Moravian preacher happening to come to that quarter where they lived, insinuated himself into their family, and partly by conversation, and partly by the writings of Jacob Behman, which he put into their hands, filled their heads with wild and fantastic ideas. Unhappily for the poor family, those strange notions gained ground on them, insomuch that in one year they began to withdraw themselves from the ordinances of public worship, and all conversation with the world around them, and strongly to imagine they were the only family upon earth who had the knowledge of the

true God, and whom he vouchsafed to instruct, either by the immediate impulses of his Spirit, or by signs and tokens from heaven. At length it came to open visions and revelations. God raised up a prophet among them, like unto Moses, to whom he taught them to hearken. This prophet was Peter Rombert, who had married the eldest daughter of the family when a widow. To this man the Author and Governor of the world deigned to reveal, in the plainest manner, that the wickedness of man was again so great in the world, that, as in the days of Noah, he was determined to destroy all men from off the face of it, except one family whom he would save for raising up a godly seed upon earth. This revelation Peter Rombert was sure of, and felt it as plain as the wind blowing on his body, and the rest of the family, with equal confidence and presumption, firmly believed it.

"A few days after this, God was pleased to reveal himself a second time to the prophet, saying, 'Put away the woman whom thou hast for thy wife, and when I have destroyed this wicked generation, I will raise up her first husband from the dead, and they shall be man and wife as before, and go thou and take to wife her youngest sister, who is a virgin, so shall the chosen family be restored entire, and the holy seed preserved pure and undefiled in it.' At first the father, when he heard of this revelation, was staggered at so extraordinary a command from heaven; but the prophet assured him that God would give him a sign, which accordingly happened; upon which the old man took his youngest daughter by the hand, and gave her to the wise prophet immediately for his wife, who without further ceremony took the damsel and deflowered her. Thus for some time they continued in acts of incest and adultery, until that period which made the fatal discovery, and introduced the bloody scene of blind fanaticism and madness.

"Those deluded wretches were so far possessed with the false conceit of their own righteousness and holiness, and of the horrid wickedness of all others, that they refused obedience to the civil magistrate, and all laws and ordinances of men. Upon pretence that God commanded them to bear no arms, they not only refused to comply with the militia law, but also the law for repairing the highways. After long forbearance, Mr. Simmons, a worthy magistrate, and the officer of the militia in that quarter, found it necessary to issue his warrants for levying the penalty of the laws upon them. But by this time Judith Dutartre, the wife of the prophet, obtained by revelation, proving with child, another warrant was issued for bringing her before the justice to be examined and bound over to the general sessions, in consequence of a law of the province, framed for preventing bastardy. The constable having received his warrants, and being jealous of meeting with no good usage in the execution of his office, prevailed on two or three of his neighbors to go along with him. The family observing the constable coming, and being apprized of his errand, consulted their prophet, who soon told them that God commanded them to arm and defend themselves against persecution, and their substance against the robberies of ungodly men; assuring them at the same time that no weapon formed against them should prosper. Accordingly they did so, and laying hold of their arms, fired on the constable and his followers, and drove them out of their plantation. Such behaviour was not to be tolerated, and therefore Captain Simmons gathered a party of militia, and went to protect the constable in the execution of his office. When the deluded family saw the justice and his party approaching, they shut themselves up in their house, and firing from it like furies, shot Captain Simmons dead on the spot, and wounded several of his party. The militia returned the fire, killed one woman within the house, and afterward forcibly entering it took the rest prisoners, six in number, and brought them to Charlestown.

"At the court of general sessions, held in September, 1724, three of them were brought to trial, found guilty, and condemned. Alas! miserable

creatures, what amazing infatuation possessed them! They pretended they had the Spirit of God leading them to all truth, they knew it and felt it: but this Spirit, instead of influencing them to obedience, purity, and peace, commanded them to commit rebellion, incest, and murder. What is still more astonishing, the principal persons among them, I mean the prophet, the father of the family, and Michael Boneau, never were convinced of their delusion, but persisted in it until their last breath. During their trial they appeared altogether unconcerned and secure, affirming that God was on their side, and therefore they feared not what man could do unto them. They freely told the incestuous story in open court in all its circumstances and aggravations, with a good countenance, and very readily confessed the facts respecting their rebellion and murder, with which they stood charged, but plead their authority from God in vindication of themselves, and insisted they had done nothing in either case but by his express command.

"As it is commonly the duty of clergymen to visit persons under sentence of death, both to convince them of their error and danger, and prepare them for death by bringing them to a penitent disposition, Alexander Garden, the Episcopal minister of Charlestown, to whom we are indebted for this account, attended those condemned persons with great diligence and concern. What they had affirmed in the court of justice, they repeated and confessed to him in like manner in the prison. When he began to reason with them, and to explain the heinous nature of their crimes, they treated him with disdain. The motto was, Answer him not a word; who is he that should presume to teach them, who had the Spirit of God speaking inwardly to their souls? In all they had done, they said they had obeyed the voice of God, and were now about to suffer martyrdom for his religion. But God had assured them, that he would either work a deliverance for them, or raise them up from the dead on the third day. These things the three men continued confidently to believe, and notwithstanding all the means used to convince them of their mistake, persisted in the same belief until the moment they expired. At their execution they told the spectators, with seeming triumph, they should soon see them again, for they were certain they should rise from the dead on the third day.

"With respect to the other three, the daughter Judith being with child, was not tried, and the two sons, David and John Dutartre, about eighteen and twenty years of age, having been also tried and condemned, continued sullen and reserved, in hopes of seeing those that were executed rise from the dead, but being disappointed, they became, or at least seemed to become, sensible of their error, and were both pardoned. Yet not long afterward one of them relapsed into the same snare, and murdered an innocent person, without either provocation or previous quarrel, and for no other reason, as he confessed, but that God had commanded him so to do. Being a second time brought to trial, he was found guilty of murder and condemned. Mr. Garden attended him again under the second sentence, and acknowledged with great appearance of success. No man could appear more deeply sensible of his error and delusion, or could die a more sincere and hearty penitent on account of his horrid crimes. With great attention he listened to Mr. Garden, while he explained to him the terms of pardon and salvation proposed in the gospel, and seemed to die in the humble hopes of mercy, through the all-sufficient merits of a Redeemer.

"Thus ended," says Hewatt, to whom we are indebted for these particulars, "that tragical scene of fanaticism, in which seven persons lost their lives, one was killed, two were murdered, and four executed for the murders. A signal and melancholy instance of the weakness and frailty of human nature, and to what giddy heights of extravagance and madness an inflamed imagination will carry unfortunate mortals. It is hard for the wisdom of men to conceive a remedy for a distemper such as religious infatuation. Severity

and persecution commonly add strength to the contagion, and render it more furious. Indulgence and lenity might perhaps prove more efficacious, as the swellings of frenzy would in time subside, in proportion as they exceed the bounds of nature. Had they given this unhappy family time for cool thought and reflection, it is not improbable that those clouds of delusion which overspread their minds might have dispersed, and they might have returned to a sense of their frailty and error. But it belongs to the civil power to prohibit wild enthusiasts and mad visionaries from spreading doctrines among vulgar people, destructive of civil order and public peace. The majority of mankind everywhere are ignorant and credulous, and therefore are objects of compassion, and ought to be protected against the baleful influence of such men as seduce them from their duty and subjection to legal authority, by poisoning their minds with notions hurtful to themselves and others."

During this period, 1720-1730, fourteen Episcopal ministers came into the province, and eleven either died or left it. A church was built in the parish of St. Helen's on Port Royal Island. The inhabitants of St. Paul's parish, which suffered so greatly in the Yamassee war, received an appropriation from the public funds to enlarge their church. In 1722, eight Bibles were sent by Governor Nicholson, by the hands of Rev. Mr. Guy, for use of Commons House, in the pews, and in church. The parish of Prince George, Winyaw, was erected in the year 1725, and was also aided by the public funds; and foundations were created for public schools by Mr. Whitmarsh in St. Paul's, Mr. Ludlam in Goose Creek, and Richard Beresford in St. Thomas. A free school was also erected in the town of Dorchester at the public expense in 1727, the schoolmaster to be sent by the Society for Propagating the Gospel. In the middle of this period, in 1724, the white population of the country, men, women, and children, was computed at about fourteen thousand: the slaves at about thirty-two thousand, mostly negroes. The increase had been steady, but not rapid. It was hindered by the unhealthiness of the climate, and by the discouragements and troubles prevailing under the proprietary government. But the province now furnished provisions in abundance, and exported largely to the West Indies. And as, after the accession of George II., which occurred on the 11th of June, 1727, there was great pecuniary distress in the north of Ireland, it is not improbable that the population, especially the Presbyterian portion of it, experienced a considerable increase. After the revolution of 1688, the landed proprietors in the province of Ulster, anxious to settle their waste lands, had granted favorable leases, under which the Presbyterian tenantry had been induced to improve their holdings and extend their cultivation. These leases, usually made for thirty years, were now expiring; the gentry raised their rents, and the farmers became exceedingly discouraged,

and entertained thoughts of removing to Scotland or emigrating to America. An increase of tithes for the support of a clergy not of their choice galled them still more, and roused anew their conscientious scruples. Three successive harvests after 1724 had been exceedingly unfavorable, and the price of living and the stagnation of trade in 1728 exceeded what the men of that generation had ever experienced. Archbishop Boulter gives, in the latter part of 1728, a "melancholy account" of the extensive emigration taking place to the wilds of America. "It is certain," he says, "that above four thousand two hundred men, women, and children have been shipped off for the West Indies within three years; and of these above three thousand one hundred the last summer." "The whole north is in a ferment at present; the humor has spread like a contagious distemper." In March, 1729, he writes: "There are now seven ships at Belfast that are carrying off one thousand passengers thither."—(Reid, iii., pp. 339, 340, 341, and note, 343, 395.) In the year 1724 four hundred and thirty-nine slaves were imported into the country; and the statement already made shows that the increase of the servile population greatly exceeded that of the whites. Population still timidly kept itself within its former bounds. The middle and upper portions of the province were inhabited by the native tribes; and the memory of the massacre of 1715 prevented settlers from venturing beyond the assistance and support of their neighbors. The parish bounds alone were occupied, save by a few daring traders; and St. Bartholomew's and St. Helen's slowly recovered the population they had lost during the Indian troubles, although efficient measures had been taken as early as 1716 to maintain garrisons on the Santee, on the Savannah river (Fort Moore, on the Bluff below Hamburg, at Beech Island), on Edisto, at Port Royal, and Combahee. Previous to 1730, too, there seems to have been a military and trading establishment on the Congaree, at or near the site of Granby, which is marked on Humphrey's map as "An English Corporation." There was also a fort at Palachachola, which was an Indian town on the Savannah, above Purisburg. The Congaree garrison, Fort Moore, Fort King George, the fort and town of Palachachola, are named and provided for in the acts of 1722, 1723.*

The manners of the people were simple. "The white inhabitants lived frugally, as luxury had not yet crept in among

* Hewatt, i., p. 309.

them, and, except a little rum and sugar, tea and coffee, were contented with what their plantations afforded." "In those primitive times, it was customary for families [in Charlestown] to dine at twelve o'clock, and take their tea at sunset; after which the old folks sat around their street-doors; or, like good old-fashioned neighbors, exchanged kind greetings with each other from house to house: while the young people assembled in groups to walk or play about the streets. It is said that on summer moonlight evenings, the grown girls and young men amused themselves after this fashion, in playing 'Trays-Ace,' 'Blind Man's Buff,' &c.; and doubtless enjoyed these rural sports quite as much as our more refined modern belles and beaux enjoy the Battery promenade of the present day. But the fathers and mothers of that day had greater regard to regular and early hours than their descendants have; for it was considered a great breach of family discipline for a child to stay out after nine o'clock at night, when the house was closed, and all its inmates assembled around the family altar to unite in the devotions of the evening. After which, the little community were soon wrapped in slumber, and thus preparing themselves for an early start on the duties of the coming day."—(MS. History of the Legarè Family, by Mrs. Flud.)

Among the concurrent events of a political nature belonging to this period, were the return of Governor Nicholson to Great Britain in 1725, and his being succeeded in office by Arthur Middleton. Under his administration, efforts were made to settle the boundaries between the Spaniards and the English colony on the south. The grant of Charles II., in 1663, had extended to St. Simon's, on the coast of Georgia, and the Carolinians had built a fort in the forks of the Altamaha, of which the Spaniards complained. There being no final agreement with the Spaniards, the Yamassees continued to harass the settlers with scalping-parties, and the abduction of their negroes. This instigated reprisals on the part of the English. Colonel Palmer, with a force of whites and Indians, about three hundred strong, entered the Spanish territories, carried his arms as far as St. Augustine, and compelled the inhabitants to take refuge in the castle. He burned the houses and huts of the settlers, destroyed their fields, drove off their stock, killed some of their Indian allies, and captured others. The French, too, had made a settlement at Mobile, and built a fort on the Alabama river, and were intriguing with the Creeks and Cherokees, so that a constant effort was required

to counteract their policy, and Captain Fitch and Colonel Chicken were employed, the one among the Creeks, and the other among the Cherokees, to keep those tribes steady in their alliance with the English. The summer of 1728 was one of severe heat and great drought, and was rendered memorable by a dreadful hurricane late in August, which damaged or destroyed most of the shipping in the port, and compelled the inhabitants of Charleston to take refuge in the upper stories of their dwellings. It was followed by the yellow fever, which desolated many families. At the close of this period, in September, 1729, the proprietors sold their rights to the crown for twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds sterling, excepting what belonged to Lord Carteret, the pecuniary emoluments of which were continued in that family.

This period, 1720-30, was in some respects a dark day in the English church. In polite society, "Free Thinking" became the great idol to be worshipped. Collins published his discourse, "On the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion," in 1724. Woolston attacked the miracles of Christ in 1727, and Tindal strove to erect natural religion on the ruins of Revelation. Barrow, Tillotson, and Atterbury, the great preachers of the English church, were discoursing with eloquence and force on the high themes of Christian ethics, and Butler, Sherlock, Gibson, and Leland were ably defending the outworks of Christianity in their immortal productions. But it was reserved for the Dissenters, in the closing part of this period, to arouse the heart of the church with the trumpet of the gospel. Dr. Watts' Psalms, Hymns, and Divine Songs, his Guide to Prayer, his Discourses upon Death and Heaven, were all published before 1730. Mr. Soames's sermon "On the Method to be taken by Ministers for the Revival of Religion," delivered in 1729 and published, some earlier writings of Dr. Doddridge, and Matthew Henry's Commentary on the Bible, were greatly blessed in restoring among them the spirit of primitive piety; and in all these happy influences our people shared.

In Scotland, the General Assembly, misled by its committee, condemned the book we have before mentioned, "The Marrow of Modern Divinity." This led to a representation, in 1721, drawn up with great ability, and signed by James Hogg, Thomas Boston, John Bonar, John Williamson, James Kid, Gabriel Wilson, Ebenezer Erskine, Ralph Erskine, James Wardlaw, Henry Davidson, James Bathgate, and William Hunter. These men, who are known in Scottish ecclesiastical

history as "The Representers," were censured at the bar of the Assembly, in 1722, and annoyed by the Neonomians and Moderates in the Scotch church. In 1727-28 new charges were brought against Professor Simpson of holding and teaching Arianism. Notwithstanding his skillful defence, he was suspended from preaching the gospel, and from his office of teacher of youth designed for the ministry. Boston took grounds against the decision of the Assembly, as being more mild than the case demanded of the church. And with these things, not without their bearing upon the interests of religion in the New World, the third decade of the eighteenth century terminated.

BOOK SEVENTH.

A. D. 1730-1740.

CHAPTER I.

SCOTCH, or FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CHARLESTON.—During the incumbency of Mr. Bassett, in the year 1731, the Presbyterians withdrew from their fellow-worshippers, and were organized as a strictly Presbyterian church, after the model of the Church of Scotland. The members thus separating were chiefly natives of Scotland, and were then known by the name of the Scotch Church, as is the case now. The number of seceding families is said to have been twelve, who left the ministry of Mr. Bassett to establish themselves as a Presbyterian church. Their first minister was the Rev. Hugh Stewart. Their house of worship was built of wood, with a steeple and chanceler vane, in Meeting, and a little south of Tradd street, near the site of the present church edifice, which stands at the corner of Meeting and Tradd streets. The causes of this separation may easily be understood to be the difference of views entertained in reference to the subscription to the Confession of Faith, their strong predilection for a strictly Presbyterian form of government, and the strong national partialities which they have ever manifested. Their separation from the parent church seems not to have been completed until their new house was finished, and was occupied for wor-

ship, which was on June 23d, 1734.—(Memorandum in vol. 4 of MS. Records of Circular Church; Ramsay, and Yeadon's History of Circular Church.)

Progress was made during these ten years towards the establishment of Presbyterianism on Edisto Island. In 1732 certain negro slaves were conveyed by a deed of gift to the Presbyterian congregation of Edisto Island, to be employed, with their descendants, upon the tract of three hundred acres conveyed in 1717 by Henry Bower for the benefit of a Presbyterian minister on said island. The preamble of this deed, in setting forth the reasons of the gift, says, "Whereas a Presbyterian congregation is collected upon the island of Edisto." It then stipulates that the gift of the slaves is "for the perpetual maintenance, out of their yearly labor, of a Presbyterian minister who owns the holy Scriptures for his only rule of Faith and practice, and who, agreeably to the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, shall own the Westminster Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, as a test of his orthodoxy, and that before the church session for the time being, before his settlement there as the rightful minister of the aforesaid church or congregation." About the same period a valuable donation of land was made to the church by "Mr. Wails." In the next year [1733] there is notice of the death of the "Rev. Mr. Moore, minister of a congregation at Edistoe."—(MS. Records of Circular Church, Charleston.) How long he had been laboring in that congregation there are no means of determining.

WILTON: [1731.] There exists a subscription list for building a Presbyterian meeting-house at Wilton, bearing date 1731; so that either this was the first church edifice or the second. It is probable that their first meeting-house was but a rude and inconvenient building, and that this was the first suitable structure erected by the congregation. Regarding it as the second, there have been at the least four houses of worship erected at different times, including the present. Ten years later, in a paragraph of Paul Hamilton's will, proved and recorded the 7th of March, 1738, mention is made of the following elders and deacons as serving under Rev. Archibald Stobo's ministry: Timothy Hendrick, John Bee, Jr., George Farley, John Hayne, John Splatt, John Atchinson, John Andrus, Thomas Burr, John Mitchell, and Jacob Denham.

There is evidence too of progress in the more complete establishment of the Presbyterian church and congregation of

BETHEL, PON PON. We learn that "in October, 1735, several of the new congregation, with the Rev. Mr. Stobo, met at the old meeting-house, and consulted for sending for a minister." They signed a blank call for Scotland, and lodged an obligation in the hands of Mr. Stobo for the minister's salary of £400 currency per annum. They also collected money and bought a bill to pay the minister's passage out. They also subscribed money (£1410) for the purchase of eight negroes, to be employed in planting or otherwise, to raise the aforesaid salary yearly. In September, 1736, the purchase was made, and the negroes committed to Mr. George Farley, "on shares in his plantation." Rev. John McCallister came out in answer to their call, in the year 1737, and received his salary from the yearly income of these negroes, till his death in 1738-9. He was succeeded in the pastorate by Rev. Hugh Stewart, the first minister of the Scotch church in Charleston; and Mr. John Andrew, Jr., executor and successor to Mr. Farley, paid the Rev. Mr. Stewart the same salary from the proceeds of their labor from the first of August, 1739, to August 1st, 1740. The balance of near £200 was used to purchase "a negro woman called Phillis, on the same footing with those others aforementioned, for the use of said congregation." In April, 1738, a subscription of £390 was raised for building a parsonage on the glebe before purchased, and in January, 1739-40, an additional subscription of £390 was made for completing the work. While the temporalities of the church were thus provided for, there is evidence of equal care for things ecclesiastical and spiritual. The following record of the session, under date of August 27th, 1739, is preserved:—"Sederunt, the Rev. Mr. Hugh Stewart, minister; George Farley, John Mitchell, elders; Isaac Hayne, William Melvin, and John Andrew, deacons, absent.

"After prayer, Isaac Hayne, William Melvin, and John Andrew were chosen ruling elders. William Jackson, Robert Oswald, William Little, John Martin, and Joseph Mitchell, deacons. Their names were intimated to the congregation the Sabbath following, and the third Sabbath in September, for their ordination respectively. Thomas Buer is appointed ruling elder to wait on Presbytery with the minister the ensuing year." Rev. Mr. Stewart and Mr. Buer were appointed to inquire for the legacy left the congregation by John Kermicle, and other business was transacted. We thus see a Presbyterian church organized, officered, under the care of Presbytery, and providing with commendable zeal for the

ordinances and worship of God's house,—a church numerous enough to support a pastor and to furnish a full and efficient corps of elders and deacons for the service of the church.

From the records of the Circular Church, Charleston, of the death, in 1733, of Rev. William Porter, minister of the congregation at Seewee, probably the same which is known as the church of WAPPETAW, the settlement at Seewee Bay, originally made by New England colonists, seems to have been still continued and flourishing. Mr. Porter must have been followed immediately by Rev. Job Parker in the pastorate of that church.

In the same year the Rev. John Baxter appears to have commenced preaching as a licentiate. His register of texts preached from, commences in January, 1733-34. His two first sermons were delivered in Charlestown, but CAINHOY was his stated place of preaching. Three of his early sermons are marked as "Tryals to Presbytery." His register shows that he preached occasionally at "Charlestown," "Williamsburg," "Dorchester," "Wiltown," on the "Santee," "James Island," "Winyaw," "John's Island," "Black River," "Waccamah Township," on the "Pedee, at Mrs. Britton's," "Wakamaha Neck," at "Col. Lynch's." Some of these occasions were days of public fasting. Several of them were sacramental occasions. Mr. Baxter's ministry continued beyond the middle of this century. His register was among the MS. collections of Dr. Robt. W. Gibbes of Columbia, but with much else that was valuable was destroyed at the burning of Columbia by General Sherman, February 17th, 1865. The following grants of land to Rev. John Baxter are recorded in the office of the Secretary of State. In 1737, 1100 acres in the Township of Williamsburg; in 1739, 300 acres; and 400 acres on the west side of Pedee in 1758.

There are two other ministers, the duration of whose life and ministry we have no means of determining. The day of their death is all that is known to us. Mr. Baxter's register has the following entry, August 15th, 1734—"The Rev. Mr. John Witherspoon, Presbyterian minister of James Island, was buried." In the South Carolina Gazette, August 10-17, 1734, there occurs this notice—"Died, on the 14th, *Rev. Mr. John Witherspoon*, a Presbyterian minister at JAMES ISLAND." In the Gazette of December 21-28, Rev. John Witherspoon's books are advertised to be sold in Charlestown on January 1, 1734-5. This is all we know of one who may have labored long in preaching the gospel in this infant state of the Pres-

byterian church in South Carolina. If it were so, his ministry will reach back to near the beginning of this century. He may have been one of the worthy Scotch ministers of whom Cotton Mather [anno 1715] speaks. What were his labors, his anxieties, his success, his influence, we know not. He scattered the precious seed of the gospel, and proclaimed that Word of God, which is as a flint and a hammer to break the flinty rock in pieces. The same remarks are equally appropriate to those unknown ministers whose death we have also recorded. They served their generation, and that generation has passed away. How much of the virtue and prosperity of their descendants may be the result of their ministry, the All-Wise alone knows. Their record is on high. There are still pointed out beneath the church on James Island, the head-posts of the grave of a former minister of that church, whose name has faded away from the memory of the congregation. Can the cypress timber still mark the resting-place of one interred one hundred and thirty-six years ago?

DORCHESTER CHURCH.—Mr. Baxter's Register also records the death of another minister, who, though the pastor of a Congregational church, was a member of the old Presbytery of South Carolina. "October 7th, [1734], the Rev. Mr. Hugh Fisher, Presbyterian minister at Dorchester, departed this life." The records of this church, as perpetuated in Liberty Co., Georgia, names October 6th, 1734, as the day of his death. Dr. Hewat speaks of him as a minister of the Church of Scotland. Of his orthodoxy and zeal for the truth, what has already been said of the part he took on the debated point of subscription or non-subscription to the Confession of Faith, are a sufficient testimony. He sat in Presbytery with Witherspoon, probably with Moore, of Edisto, possibly with Smith [see p.] and Bassett, with Livingston, and Stobo, and Stewart, the new minister of the Scotch church. A son of Rev. Hugh Fisher, James Fisher, was living in Charleston, in 1817. Mr. Fisher was succeeded by Rev. John Osgood, who was born in Dorchester, South Carolina, was graduated at Harvard in 1733, and ordained at Dorchester, March 24th, 1735.

But before these lamented deaths, Rev. Josiah Smith was called from the church at Cainhoy, May 14th, 1734, and settled in CHARLESTON, as a colleague with Rev. Mr. Bassett, in the pastorate of the "White Meeting," now the "Circular Church," both names being given by the populace—the one from the color, the other from the form of the

house of worship. The reason of this call we are left to conjecture.

The congregation was large and influential, and required much pastoral labor. Mr. Smith was of an honorable family, being a grandson of the Landgrave Thomas Smith, once governor of the colony, and was a man of active character and ardent piety. Another reason may have been the diversion which was now made in favor of the new Presbyterian church and its new pastor, which called for greater effort to repair the breach thus made upon them. In 1738, on the 26th of June, Mr. Bassett died with the small-pox, in the thirty-seventh year of his age; and in the same year the church wrote to Rev. Drs. Harris, Watts, Wright, and Mr. Chandler, ministers in London, to send out a minister for them, having "a strong, audible voice, a clear and distinct pronounciation, good elocution, decent deportment of body, an affable temper in conversation, and great moderation in principles."

The "Independent or Congregational Church at WAPPETAW, Christ Church Parish."—On "October 28th, 1735, Rev. Job Parker, Independent minister on Wando Neck, was buried."* Of Mr. Parker, some account is given in the following letter of Rev. Josiah Smith, dated "Charles Town, South Carolina, November 7th, 1735, and addressed to the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Colman, pastor of a church in Boston, New England, via New York." The original of this is in the library of the Mass. Hist. Soc. at Boston.

"REVD SR:

"I am heartily sorry for y^e mournful Occasion of my present writing: The Death of My Dear Bro' and Companion, the Rev^d Mr. *Job Parker*. He seem'd to be a Man of great Powers and Accomplishments for y^e Ministry and stood fair for y^e Character of a *Compleat Divine*; His Death was pretty Sudden and Unexpected, both to Himself and Us, As His Distemper appear'd to have no malignancy in it, but a Proper *Fever & Ague*, which Seldom, if ever, Kills. At His Interment I gave y^e People a Discourse from those Words—*Knowing that I must shortly put off, &c.* With a short sketch of His *Character*; And the Lamentations at His Burial were of y^e same Extent with y^e Love and Veneration We had for Him living. There was a great intimacy subsisting betwixt Us, from the Time I was call'd to *Charles-Town*. Tho' He seem'd, in Some Points to lean to y^e *Arminian Scheme*, which I am no friend to; yet He was prudent eno' Not to bring y^m into y^e *Pulpit*, and His Moderation and Sweetness of Temper was Such, That We could Argue upon Them wth Calmness, and y^e difference never interrupt Our harmony. The People among Whom he Ministered, have now Applied to the Reverend Mr. *President* and *Professor*, for some Qualified Person to Succeed Him; and because I can't Question, I need not Ask, *Your* good offices and Concurrence in it. I hope your Candidates will Consider, That the Welfare of *two* Societies depends on Their Compliance. The encouragement, I Think, is

* Rev. Mr. Baxter's Register.

considerable, and likely to grow, for a *Single Man*, and should He alter His condition, I am of Opinion, He might do it, as I believe Mr *Parker* would have done, to His advantage among Us : But for *Particulars*, I refer to y^e above mention'd *Gentlemen*.—There is at present a Suspension of y^e *Controversy* Among Us, and no *Paper-Contests* ; But doubt, My Antagonists are *privately* endeavoring to Supplant Me.—My *Bro' Bassett* is in low Circumstances, Some say in a *Consumption* : If God deprive Us of Him, it will double The Necessity of our present Application, and, I hope, have its weight and consideration.

"Mr *Osgood* is made choice of, to Succeed Mr *Fisher* in the Church of *Dorchester*, but Whom They will apply To for Ordination, is uncertain."

The Presbyterian church on JOHN'S ISLAND enjoyed at this time the ministerial services, it is believed, of the Rev. Mr. Turnbull.* The beginning of his labors here we are unable to fix ; the date of his death has alone been preserved. The church received a valuable legacy by the will of Robert Ure, which was dated about this time. Robert Urie was among Scotland's banished ones, sent to Carolina in 1684. We know not if these names are the same or not.

By his will, dated in 1735, Robert Ure, of John's Island, supposed to have been a native of Scotland, bequeathed as follows :

"As to one moiety of my estate, unto Joseph Stanyarn, Wm. Holmes, and Thomas Upham, and their assigns, in trust, and to the intent and purpose that the said Joseph Stanyarn, William Holmes, and Thomas Upham, and their assigns, (in manner hereinafter to be appointed,) shall immediately, or as soon as conveniently may be, after the sale and division to be made as aforesaid, put out the same at interest, on good and sufficient securities, and from time to time, and at all times thereafter, shall yearly and every year, well and faithfully pay, and apply the interest therefrom arising, to the sole use and behoof, and for the maintenance of a minister of the gospel, according to the Presbyterian profession, who is, or shall be thereafter, from time to time regularly called and settled on John's Island, in Colleton county, in said province, and who shall acknowledge and subscribe the Westminster Confession of Faith as the confession of his faith, and shall firmly believe and preach the same to the people there committed, or which shall hereafter be committed to his care and pastoral inspection."

It appears from the inventory and appraisement of the estate of Robert Ure, that the entire value of the estate was estimated at £3,656 12s. It appears that the Presbyterian church, or congregation, had been in existence a considerable time before the bequest, and its origin cannot be distinctly ascertained. Rev. Mr. Turnbull was buried October 25th, 1737.

These few notices, which are all we have been able to gather of the ministers of this period, are suggestive to us of the state of those churches which were not favored by the patronage of government. They labored indeed under great grievances, yet they continued in existence ; and the word of God was

* Rev. Mr. Baxter's Register.

no doubt faithfully preached by those ministers who had now ceased from their labors and gone to their reward. There were occasionally the signs of a more indulgent and considerate spirit on the part of men in power towards the churches not established by law. On the 28th day of May, 1731, the Lower House of Assembly sent the following message to the governor and council :

“ HONORABLE GENTLEMEN,

“ This House, taking under consideration the great loyalty and affection of the Presbyterian Dissenters of this Province (of Charleston in particular) to his most sacred Majesty, as well as the great regard to the true interests of this his province, have thought it proper to give our assent to a donation of £1000, to be applied to the rebuilding and repairing the Presbyterian Meeting House in Charlestown, to be put into the ensuing year, and to which we desire the concurrence of your honorable Board.

“ JOHN LLOYD, Speaker.

“ May the 28th, 1731.”

The sum also of £500 was allowed for the repairing of the Baptist meeting-house, blown down by the hurricane. The following appropriations for chapels (of the Established Church) were also made the same year :

For finishing the chapel of St. Paul's, £100 ; Goose Creek, repairing, £200 ; Christ's church, repairing church, £300 ; St. Helena's, finishing do., £200 ; St. John's, repairing do., £200 ; St. Thomas and St. Denis, repairing do., £200 ; St. George's, for enlarging do., £200 ; Wassamaw, for repairing chapel, £100 ; James Island, for building chapel of ease, £300 ; St. Bartholomew's, for erecting church, £200. A bill was also passed to repeal an act to erect a chapel at Echaw, in St. James, Santee, and for erecting two chapels, and that the rector perform service in the *English tongue*, it having been performed in the French before. Ratified August, 1731.

The fortunes of Carolina were greatly advanced after it came into the possession of the British crown. The people pursued their employments with a more hopeful and satisfied spirit, and efficient measures were adopted for the prosperity of the colony. One of the most immediate in happy results was, the measures taken to propitiate the Indian tribes inhabiting the interior and upper portions of the State, and thus encouraging settlers to advance beyond the narrow bounds in which population had hitherto been confined. Sir Alexander Cumming arrived in the colony early in 1730, as commissioner from the king to treat with the Indian tribes, and advanced three hundred miles into the upper country, as far as Keowee, where he met Montoy, the chief of the Cher-

okees, and other subordinate chieftains, in friendly conference. He proposed that a delegation of their chiefs should visit England, and look upon the face of the British sovereign. The proposition was acceded to, and seven chiefs embarked in a British man-of-war, and while they were in England were treated with the greatest consideration. The result was a treaty of amity, which was respected for many years by the savage tribes, so that the country was laid open, even in the vicinity of these savage men, for the settlement of the whites. Large numbers of negro laborers were introduced—fifteen hundred being imported in a single year; the lands rose in value, the produce was in a few years doubled, and trade largely increased. Charles Town now consisted of from five to six hundred houses, mostly of wood, covered with clapboards; but about this time more skilful workmen found employment in the colony, and the style and comfort of dwellings was greatly improved.* This was the era of the first settlement of Georgia. The chief design of its benevolent founders was to rescue those in the old world that were suffering under the miseries of debt and imprisonment, and to open an asylum for the victims of religious persecution. Their corporate seal exhibited on the one side silk-worms at work, with the motto, *Non sibi, sed aliis*—not for themselves, but others—expressing the disinterested motives which governed them. In November, 1732, Oglethorpe, with one hundred and sixteen settlers, embarked for these shores, and on the 13th of January, 1733, arrived off the bar at Charleston. He was received with the greatest kindness by the civil authorities, and after a few days proceeded to Port Royal, where the colonists were provided for until he should determine upon a site for the proposed settlement. His party threaded in their canoe the inlets of the Carolina coast, till, entering the broad stream of the Savannah and bending their course upward, they landed at the foot of a bold bluff, covered with pines, which commanded a view of the river above and below, and of the low-lying banks of Carolina in front. On this bluff, at the northern extremity of which was the Indian village of Yamacraw, with its friendly chief, Tomochichi, he commenced his settlement, and laid the foundation of a new colony and State, whose fortunes, both civil and ecclesiastical, have ever since been interwoven with ours.

* "They had," says Hewat, "no chaises (nor carriages of any kind), and all travellers were exposed in open boats or on horseback to the violent heat of the climate."

Of the generous aid received from Carolina in its foundation, grateful mention is made on the historic page.

John Peter Pury, who had been director-general of the French East Indian Company, of Neufchâtel, in Switzerland, designing to leave his native country, came to Carolina, and procured a grant (September 1st, 1731) of forty thousand acres of land for a Swiss settlement on the north side of Savannah river. A town was laid out about thirty miles from its mouth, where the Yamassees had formerly resorted, which was called Purysburg, after the name of the enterprising founder. Pury published a glowing account of the new colony of South Carolina, which was signed in Charlestown on the 23d of September, 1731, by John Peter Pury of Neufchâtel, James Richard of Geneva, Abraham Meuron of St. Sulpy, in the county of Neufchâtel, and Henry Raymond of St. Sulpy. This publication aroused the imagination of the Switzers, and one hundred and seventy accompanied him, in 1733,* to the site which had been selected. These men were from the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, and were Presbyterians and Calvinists by education and profession. But, as was often the case with foreign Protestants, they desired to comply with the established religion of the country to which they emigrated, and their minister, Rev. Joseph Bugnion, who came with them, received Episcopal ordination from the Bishop of London.† On November 16th, 1734, Col. Pury arrived with two hundred and sixty Switzers, and their minister, Rev. Henry Chiffelle, who also saw fit to receive ordination from the hand of Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London. "One hundred and odd more," says the South Carolina Gazette, "are expected every day, and among them forty Protestants from the valleys of Piedmont." "A subscription has been made for them in England, where we hear James Oglethorpe, Esq., has subscribed £40 sterling. The Duc de Montague also, and several persons of distinction, have subscribed handsomely." "Col. Pury receives pay for his expense in bringing them over, and M. Chiffelle his expense out."—(S. C. Gazette of November 16th and November 23d.) April 26th, 1735: "Two hundred Swiss arrived at Purysburg. They received an allowance by

* The first colony arrived in November and December, 1732, and consisted of one hundred and fifty-two persons.—Dalcho, p. 385; Records of Governor and Council, December, 1732; Hewat and Holmes.

† February 21st, 1732, Petition of Joseph Bugnion, minister of the Swiss Settlement, praying for a salary, is recommended to the Lower House as very reasonable.

the king, out of his own purse, of £1200. The Swiss emigrants began their labors with uncommon zeal, stimulated with the idea of possessing landed estates, so far beyond the hopes of European peasantry in their own land." In 1735 Purysburg contained nearly one hundred dwellings; and this, perhaps, was the season of its greatest prosperity. Many of the colonists were cut off by diseases; the hardships of settling a new country had not entered fully into their calculations; and suffering under the accumulated ills of indigence and distress, they sighed for the mountains, glens, and snows of Switzerland, and blamed Pury for the deceit which his glowing fancy had practised upon them. The Presbyterian cause was not much advanced by these emigrants from the land of Zuingle and Bullinger, and from the adopted country of Calvin and Beza. In December, 1736, Rev. Henry Chiffelle petitions for his salary, and prays that the town of Purysburg may be erected into a parish.—(Records of Governor and Council.) Mr. Wesley, who was at Purysburg, April 27th, 1737, says, "Mr. Bellenger sent a negro lad with me to Purysburg, or rather the poor remains of it. O, how hath God stretched over this plate 'the lines of confusion and the stones of emptiness.'"—(Gillies' Collections, p. 301.)

The governor had received instructions to lay out eleven townships, in square plats, on the sides of rivers, containing each twenty thousand acres, and to divide the lands into shares of fifty acres for each man, woman, and child that should occupy them; each township to form a parish, with various other provisions. In pursuance of this, two townships had been laid out on the Altamaha, two on the Savannah, two on the Santee, one on Pedee, one on Wacamaw, one on Wateree, and one on Black river. An Irish colony was moved, by the great advantages offered, to embark for America, and so escape the exactions of landlords and the clergy of the Establishment. On November 9th, 1732, James Pringle and other Irish Protestants petitioned the council that their passage be paid. The council agreed "that if they will settle in a township according to his majesty's instructions, as the Swiss have done, they shall have the like encouragement." Colonel Parris was directed subsequently to provide for the Irish Protestants settled at Williamsburg, "8 hogsheads of corn, qt. 102 bushels; 2 hgds. of pease, qt. 24 bushels; 2 of salt, qt. 15 bls.; 18 barrels of beef, qt. 32 galls. each." On January 31st, 1733, "the Irish Protestants settled in Williamsburg" petitioned for a further supply of provisions "as is allowed by

the law of this province for new comers," and the supply was ordered.

Williamsburg was so named by its inhabitants in honor of the Presbyterian king, William III., Prince of Orange. The *township* was one of those laid out by royal authority in 1731. It included an area of twenty miles square, and "was granted to these Irish Presbyterians with the full guaranty of enjoying their own faith without intrusion. It was never an Episcopal parish, nor were any of the lands within it ever granted to any other individuals, nor for any other religious purpose, than to the Irish Presbyterians, and their faith and mode of worship."—(Wallace's Hist. of the Williamsburg Church, p. 17.) "The *town* itself was laid out by the settlers, and called Kingstree, the name of which was derived from a large white or short-leaved pine which grew on the bank of Black river, near the bridge, which species of trees, with all gold and silver mines, were reserved for the king in all royal grants. These Scotch-Irish were the first settlers in this district, save that two men, Finley and Rutledge, had attempted a settlement north of this place, on two bays which still bear their names; but failing in their culture of rice, they had returned to the district of Charleston, whence they came. Williamsburg constituted a Presbyterian congregation or parish, similar to those in Scotland. And the grants of bounty lands within this township seem to have been made between the years 1730 and 1745."—(Wallace, pp. 13, 18.)

The hardships which these early settlers endured in leaving their old homes and becoming domesticated in this new country, were often severe and discouraging. It is seldom that we find in these late days any authentic record of these trials. The following particulars are gathered from the "Genealogy of the Witherspoon Family," beginning as far back as 1670, and were written by Robert Witherspoon, who emigrated with his father's family in 1734—some of the family having come over in the first emigration in 1732. (The grand-parents of Robert Witherspoon had migrated from the vicinity of Glasgow, in Scotland, to the county of Down, in Ireland, in 1695.)

"We went on ship-board," says Robert, "the 14th of September, and lay wind-bound in the Lough at Belfast 14 days. The second day of our sail my grandmother died, and was interred in the raging ocean, which was an afflictive sight to her offspring. We were sorely tossed at sea with storms, which caused our ship to spring a leak; our pumps were kept incessantly at work day and night; for many days our mariners seemed many times at their wits end. But it pleased God to bring us all safe to land, which was about the 1st of December." "We landed in Charleston three weeks before Christmas. We found the inhabitants very kind. We

staid in town until after Christmas, and were put on board of an open boat, with tools and a year's provisions, and one still-mill. They allowed each hand upwards of sixteen, one axe, one broad hoe, and one narrow hoe. Our provisions were Indian corn, rice, wheaten-flour, beef, pork, rum, and salt. We were much distressed in this part of our passage. As it was the dead of winter, we were exposed to the inclemency of the weather day and night; and (which added to the grief of all pious persons on board) the atheistical and blasphemous mouths of our Patroons and the other hands. They brought us up as far as Potatoe Ferry and turned us on shore, where we lay in Samuel Commander's barn for some time, and the boat wrought her way up to 'the King's Tree,' with the goods and provisions, which is the first boat that, I believe, ever came up so high before. While we lay at Mr. Commander's, our men came up in order to get dirt houses to take their families to. They brought some few horses with them. What help they could get from the few inhabitants in order to carry children and other necessaries up they availed themselves of. As the woods were full of water, and most severe frosts, it was very severe on women and children. We set out in the morning: and some got no farther that day than Mr. McDonald's, and some as far as Mr. Plowden's; some to James Armstrong's, and some to uncle William James's." [These were emigrants who had preceded Witherspoon, in the first emigration.] "Their little cabins were as full that night as they could hold, and the next day every one made the best they could to their own place, which was the first day of February, 1735. - My father had brought on ship-board four children, viz.: David, Robert, John, and Sarah. Sarah died in Charleston, and was the first buried at the Scotch Meeting House grave-yard. When we came to the Bluff, my mother and us children were still in expectation that we were coming to an agreeable place. But when we arrived and saw nothing but a wilderness, and instead of a fine timbered house, nothing but a mean dirt house, our spirits quite sank; and what added to our trouble, our pilot we had with us from uncle William James's left us when we came in sight of the place. My father gave us all the comfort he could, by telling us we would get all those trees cut down, and in a short time there would be plenty of inhabitants, so that we could see from house to house. While we were at this, our fire we brought from Bog Swamp went out. Father had heard, that up the river-swamp was 'the King's Tree,' although there was no path, neither did he know the distance. Yet he followed up the swamp until he came to the branch, and by that found Roger Gordon's. We watched him as far as the trees would let us see, and returned to our dolorous hut, expecting never to see him or any human person more. But after some time he returned and brought fire. We were some comforted, but evening coming on, the wolves began to howl on all sides. We then feared being devoured by wild beasts, having neither gun nor dog, nor any door to our house. Howbeit we set to and gathered fuel, and made on a good fire, and so passed the first night. The next day being a clear, warm morning, we began to stir about, but about mid-day there rose a cloud southwest attended with a high wind, thunder, and lightning. The rain quickly penetrated through between the poles and brought down the sand that covered them over, which seemed to threaten to bury us alive. The lightning and claps were very awful and lasted a good space of time. I do not remember to have seen a much severer gust than that was. I believe we all sincerely wished ourselves again at Belfast. But this fright was soon over and the evening cleared up comfortable and warm. The boat that brought up the goods arrived at 'the King's Tree.' People were much oppressed in bringing their things, as there was no house there. They were obliged to toil hard, and had no other way but to convey their beds, clothing, chests, provisions, tools, pots, &c., on their backs. And at that time there were few or no roads, and every family had to travel the best way they

could, which was here double distance to some, for they had to follow swamps and branches for their guides for some time. After a season some men got such a knowledge of the woods as to 'blaze' paths, so the people soon found out to follow 'blazes' from place to place. As the winter season was far advanced, the time to prepare for planting was very short. Yet people were very strong and healthy, all that could do anything wrought diligently, and continued clearing and planting as long as the season would admit, so that they made provisions for the ensuing year. As they had but few beasts, a little served them, and as the range was good, they had no need of feeding creatures for some years. I remember that among the first things my father brought from the boat was his gun, which was one of Queen Anne's muskets. He had her loaded with swan shot. One morning, when we were at breakfast, there was a travelling 'possum' on his way, passing by the door: my mother screamed out, saying, 'There is a great bear!' Mother and us children hid ourselves behind some barrels and a chest, at the other end of our hut, whilst father got his gun, and steadied her, past the fork that held up that end of the house, and shot him about the hinder parts, which caused poor possum to grin and open her mouth in a frightful manner. Father was in haste to give him a second bout, but the shot being mislaid in the hurry, could not be found. We were penned up for some time. Father at length ventured out and killed it with a pale. Another source of alarm was the Indians. When they came to hunt in the spring, they were in great numbers in all places like the Egyptian locusts, but they were not hurtful. We had a great deal of trouble and hardships in our first settling, but the few inhabitants continued still in health and strength. Yet we were oppressed with fears, on divers accounts, especially of being massacred by the Indians, or bit by snakes, or torn by wild beasts, or being lost and perishing in the woods. Of this last calamity there were three instances."

These fears were not groundless. January, 1737-8, the Welsh on the Pedee complained of their apprehensions from the Indians. The Waterees protested against the laying out of the Wateree township [Fredericksburg, around Camden], and a family on Pine-tree Creek was murdered. The Catawbas were to be inquired of respecting it. Six men were appointed to range on the Santee for the safeguard of the inhabitants. —(Journals of Council, 1737-8, pp. 73, 74.)

"About the end of August, 1736, my uncle Robert arrived here. The ship he came in was called 'New Built.' She was a ship of great burden, and brought many passengers. They chiefly came up here, and obliged to travel by land, instead of provisions they had money given them by the publick, our second crop being in the ground when they came. As it was in the warm season, they were much fatigued in coming up, and many were taken with the fever and ague, and some died with that disorder, and many, after the ague ceased, grew dropsical and died. About this time the people began to form into societies, and sent to Ireland for a minister. One came, named Robert Heron. He stayed three years, and then returned to Ireland.*

* Their first call was made out for Rev. John Willison, of Scotland, author of the Mother's Catechism, a Practical Treatise on the Lord's Supper, and of the Discourses on the Atonement. The following anecdote is handed down by tradition of Mr. Gavin Witherspoon. Meeting his neighbors one day, this conversation is reported to have taken place. Witherspoon—"Wull, we must have a minister." "Wull, Mister Wotherspoon, wha wull ye get to be your

In the fall of 1737 my grandfather took the rose in his leg (Erisipelas), which occasioned a fever of which he died. He was the first buried at Williamsburg Meeting House. He was a man of middle stature, of firm, healthy constitution, well acquainted with the scriptures, and had a volubility of expression in prayer. A zealous adherent of the reformed protestant principles of the church of Scotland, he had a great aversion against Episcopacy. And whoever reads the history of the times of his younger years in Scotland, may see that these prejudices were not without cause, as it was his lot to be in a time of great distress to the poor persecuted church in the reign of James VII. of Scotland, and II. of England, as he was one of the sort that followed field-meetings; some of his kindred and himself were much harassed by them. Yet notwithstanding, if his younger years were attended with some trouble, he enjoyed great peace and tranquillity in his after life."

These private memoirs, though hardly entitled to a place in a formal history, are interesting, as showing the difficulties of new settlers in a strange country, and illustrate the religious earnestness of our Presbyterian ancestors, who took measures for the public worship of God as soon as they had obtained a shelter for their own households. On the 2d of July, 1736, they petitioned the lieutenant-governor and council for the tract of land which is now the parsonage, with a view of building the church and manse on the same plat of ground. William James was selected to present this petition. The petition was not granted till the 3d of July, 1741, five years afterwards. Meanwhile land was purchased, in 1738, from Roger Gordon, one of the earliest immigrants, on which the church was erected.

In reference to this Williamsburg colony, Hewat says:—

"The first colony of Irish people had lands granted them near the Santee river, and formed the settlement called Williamsburg Township. But notwithstanding the bounty of the Crown, these poor emigrants remained for several years in low and miserable circumstances. The rigors of the climate, joined to the want of precaution, so common to strangers, proved fatal to numbers of them. Having but scanty provisions in the first age of cultivation, vast numbers, by their heavy labor, being both debilitated in body and dejected in spirit, sickened and died in the woods. But as this township received frequent supplies from the same quarter, the Irish settlement, amidst every hardship, increased in number; and at length they applied to the merchants for negroes, who intrusted them with a few, by which means they were relieved from the severest part of the labor. Then, by their great diligence and industry, spots of land were gradually cleared, which in the

minister?" "Wull, wha but Mister Wulluson o' Dundee?" "But the minister must have a muckle sight o' money for his living." "An' that we must gie him," says Mr. Witherspoon. "An' how much, Mr. Wother spoon, wull ye gie?" "Ten poonds," was the ready reply. "But, Mr. Wother spoon, whar 'll ye git the ten poonds." "Why, if wus comes to wus, I e'en can sell my cou," says he. Mr. Willison of Dundee was accordingly sent for to preach the gospel in the wilds of Carolina. The Rev. Robert Heron, who came instead, commenced his labors with zeal, and pursued them with fidelity. The congregation was formally organized as a Presbyterian church under his ministry in August, 1736, and greatly prospered. He returned to Ireland in 1740 or 1741, where he remained, it is believed, till his death.

first place yielded them provisions, and in process of time became moderate and fruitful estates.”—(Hewat, vol. ii., pp. 63, 64.)

In the journals of the council, January 26th, 1737-8, the petition of several poor Irish Protestants is mentioned, who petition for warrants for survey in either of the townships on the Pedee. A fund for the support of poor Protestants is provided for by a revival of the duty on negroes. Charleston is represented as being filled with poor Protestants from Ireland and elsewhere, begging from door to door, (p. 53). The advice of the Upper House is, that they enter into service. The Lower House objects to driving freemen “into a state of servitude,” and proposes the borrowing of £4000 to be applied for the relief of such cases.

CHAPTER II.

THIS also was the period of the settlement of ORANGEBURG. A trader, Henry Sterling, had located himself, and obtained a grant of land on Lyon’s Creek, in 1704. But it was not until 1735 that this portion of the province had any considerable number of whites. The arrival of the settlers who found their way thither is thus mentioned in the South Carolina Gazette, under date of July 26th :—“On Sunday last arrived two hundred Palatines ; most of them being poor, they were obliged to sell themselves and their children for their passage (which is six pistoles in gold per head) within a fortnight of the time of their arrival, or else to pay one pistole more to be carried to Philadelphia. The most of them are farmers, and some tradesmen. About two hundred and twenty of the Switzers that have paid all their passages are now going up the Edisto to settle a township there: The government defrays them on their journey, provides them provisions for one year, and gives them fifty acres a head. The quantity of corn bought for them has made the price rise from fifteen shillings, as it was last week, to twenty shillings.”

These persons became the first settlers in Orangeburg township, which had been laid out in a parallelogram of fifteen miles by five on the North Edisto, and was called Orangeburg in honor of the Prince of Orange. Germans of the [Lower] Palatinate settled in the township, but some portion of the settlers were from Switzerland, from the cantons of

Berne, Zurich, and the Grisons, and were Calvinists we suppose of the Helvetic confession, and Presbyterian in their views of church government. Their minister, John Ulrich Giessendanner, came with them, and the register of marriages, baptisms, and burials, commenced by him in the German language, was continued by his nephew and successor, John Giessendanner, down to the year 1760. John Ulrich Giessendanner died in the year 1738. His nephew John, by the request of the congregation, went to Charleston for the purpose of "obtaining orders" from Rev. Alexander Garden, the Bishop of London's commissary, but was persuaded by Major Christian Mote, whom he met, that he ought not to apply to him, but to other gentlemen to whom he would conduct him, who, if they found him qualified, would give him authority to preach. Major Mote made him acquainted with the Presbytery of South Carolina, who in 1738 gave him authority to preach the gospel among his German neighbors. This he continued to do, and thus kept up the church of their fathers unchanged for a season, though he afterwards went to London and took Episcopal ordination.—(Journal of Upper House of Assembly, vol. x., 1743-1744.) We find the arrival of other Palatines mentioned in December, 1732, who were to be settled at the head of Pon Pon, and of other Switzers settled in New Windsor, whose minister, Bartholomew Zauberbuhler, was allowed by the governor and council £250, as a present.* And in 1737-8 the population of this township, which commenced on the Savannah above Hamburg, and extended along the river nearly to Silver Bluff, contained such a number of settlers, that the garrison of Fort Moore was reduced to a smaller number.

During this period the FRENCH CHURCHES seem to have settled quietly down, excepting the one in Charleston (and perhaps in some measure that of Orange Quârter), under Episcopal rule. The Bishop of London very sagaciously supplied

* Journal of Governor and Council, December, 1736. Bartholomew Zauberbuhler emigrated from St. Gall in Switzerland (where his father was a Swiss minister) to the colony at Purysburg. He received a good English and classical education at Charleston. He was not at this time under Episcopal orders, but he afterwards went over to England, and at the recommendation of Commissary Garden was ordained by the Bishop of London, and sent out by the trustees of Georgia as a missionary to Vernonsburg. He arrived at Frederica January 22d, 1746.—Stevens' Hist. of Ga., i., 359. The colony was brought out under the agency of Rev. Sebastian Zauberbuhler, assisted by himself. An order of the king in council is on record granting them forty-eight thousand acres. These people have become commingled with our population, and few of them are found in the Presbyterian church.

them with a ministry of French extraction, who were proficient in the French language, and would be less likely to bring to their notice the change which they had made. The names of Le Jau, of Tustian, of Pouderos, of Varnod, of Tissot, of Coulet, of Du Plessis, were familiar to the French Huguenots, and with the influence these men exerted, may have done much to reconcile them to leaving the customs of their fathers.

The CHURCH in CHARLESTON remained faithful. Its services were continued, though with serious interruptions. We have seen that it was vacant in 1725. From a list of the ministers made by Colonel George W. Cross, now in the possession of Daniel Ravenel, Esq., and in the handwriting of Colonel Cross (whose list may have been taken from minutes now lost, or who may have been aided by the recollections of his mother, a sister of Judge Trezevant, and a worshipper in the church in her early life), Rev. Mr. Lescot is set down as the pastor, beginning at some time after the preceding date, till the year 1734, at which date the pastorship of the Rev. François Guichard commences. The congregation was however vacant in 1731, for in that year they made application to the London Walloon church, requesting a pastor to be sent to them, who would receive £80 per annum, and £25 or more for his passage; the letter was signed Peter Fillen, Etienne Mounier, Mathurin Boigard, Jean le Breton, André de Veaux, Anthoine Bonneau, Jacob Satur, Joel Poinset, Jean Garnier, Jaque le Chantre, C. Birot.* Ramsay (vol. ii., p. 39) dates the beginning of Mr. Guichard's pastorship in 1722. His register of baptisms, however, does not begin till 1733, and 1733 or 1734 seems to be the date at which his ministry in that church commences.†

The Baptist church in Charleston, founded, as we have before mentioned, in 1698, after William Screven, who died October 10th, 1713, had for its minister, Rev. Mr. Peart, and Rev. Thomas Simmons, who died January 31st, 1749, and

* Burns, Hist. of the French, Walloon, Dutch, and other Foreign Churches in England. London, 1846, p. 19, note.

† It begins thus :—"Registre de Baptêmes, Mariages, et Entremens. J'ai baptisé Marie Anne née Septembre, 1732, fille de Isaac et de Marie Mazick, qui a en Parran Jacques de Saint Julien et pour Maraine Marie Anne Godin. A Charlestown, ce 6th Avril, 1733, François Guichard. J'ai baptisé l'enfant de Monsieur George Mille et de Susanne Mille. Je lui ai donné le nom de Perside Charlotte. Le Parran, se nomme Jonas Bonhoste et la Maraine s'appelle Perside Mongin. A Charlestown, ce 21st Mai, 1733.—Signed, Jonas Bonhoste, Perside Mongin, François Guichard, Ministre."

whose ministry in Charleston commenced in 1729. During the period of which we now speak, a Baptist church was gathered on Ashley river, May 24th, 1736, the pastor of which was Rev. Isaac Chanler, a native of Bristol, England. While pastor on Ashley river he published a volume in small quarto on "The Doctrines of Glorious Grace, unfolded, defended, and practically improved," which probably is the earliest theological treatise written in Carolina. He also published a "Treatise on Original Sin." The church on Ashley river became extinct during the Revolution. The Baptist church of Welch Neck was founded January, 1738. Rev. Mr. Tilly was the Baptist minister on Edisto Island, and died there April 14th, 1744.—(History of Charleston Association, by Wood Furman, A. M., Charleston, 1811.)

The Episcopal church still received ministers from England, through the labors of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and under the fostering care of government many of a different faith, especially of the foreign churches, continued to unite with them. Dr. Hewat, in his history, has the following paragraphs, which occur in connection with the events of this period, but have a retrospective view extending over the whole preceding years of this century:

"By this time," says he, "the Episcopalian form of divine worship had gained ground in Carolina, and was more countenanced by the people than any other. That zeal for the right of private judgment had much abated, and those prejudices against the hierarchy, which the first emigrants carried from England with them, were now almost entirely worn off from the succeeding generation. To bring about this change, no doubt the well-timed zeal and extensive bounty of the society, incorporated for the propagation of the gospel, had greatly contributed. At this time the corporation had no less than twelve missionaries in Carolina, each of whom shared of their bounty. Indeed, a mild church-government, together with able, virtuous, and prudent teachers, in time commonly give the establishment in every country a superiority over all sectaries. Spacious churches had been erected in the province, which were pretty well supplied with clergymen, who were paid from the public treasury, and countenanced by the civil authority, all which favored the established church. The dissenters of Carolina were not only obliged to erect and uphold their churches, and maintain their clergy by private contributions, but also to contribute their share in the way of taxes, in proportion to their ability, equally with their neighbors, towards the maintenance of the poor, and the support of the establishment. This indeed many of them considered as a grievance, but having but few friends in the provincial assembly, no redress could be obtained for them. Besides, the establishment gave its adherents many advantageous privileges in point of power and authority over persons of other denominations. It gave them the best chance for being elected members of the legislature, and of course of being appointed to offices, both civil and military, in their respective districts. Over youthful minds, fond of power, pomp, and military parade, such advantages have great weight. Dissenters indeed had the free choice of their ministers, but even this is often the cause of division. When differ-

ences happen in a parish, the minority must yield, and therefore through private pique, discontent, or resentment, they often conform to the establishment. It is always difficult, and often impossible, for a minister to please all parties, especially where all claim an equal right to judge and choose for themselves, and divisions and subdivisions seldom fail to ruin the power and influence of all sectaries. This was evidently the case in Carolina: for many of the posterity of rigid dissenters were now found firm adherents to the Church of England, which had grown numerous on the ruins of the dissenting interest.

"However, the emigrants from Scotland and Ireland, most of whom were Presbyterians, still composed a considerable party of the province, and kept up the Presbyterian form of worship in it. Archibald Stobo, of whom I have formerly taken notice, by great diligence and ability still preserved a number of followers. An association had been formed in favor of this mode of religious worship, by Messrs. Stobo, Fisher, and Witherspoon, three ministers of the Church of Scotland, together with Joseph Stanyarn, and Joseph Blake, men of respectable characters and considerable fortunes. The Presbyterians had already erected churches at Charlestown, Wiltown, and in three of the maritime islands, for the use of the people adhering to that form of religious worship. As the inhabitants multiplied, several more in different parts of the province afterward joined them, and built churches, particularly at Jacksonburgh, Indian Town, Port-Royal, and Williamsburgh. The first clergymen having received their ordination in the Church of Scotland, the fundamental rules of the association were framed according to the forms, doctrines, and discipline of that establishment, to which they agreed to conform as closely as their local circumstances would admit. These ministers adopted this mode of religious worship, not only from a persuasion of its conformity to the primitive apostolic form, but also from a conviction of its being, of all others, the most favorable to civil liberty, equality, and independence. Sensible that not only natural endowments, but also a competent measure of learning and acquired knowledge were necessary to qualify men for the sacred function, and enable them to discharge the duties of it with honor and success, they associated on purpose to prevent deluded mechanics, and illiterate novices, from creeping into the pulpit, to the disgrace of the character, and the injury of religion. In different parts of the province, persons of this stamp had appeared, who cried down all establishments, both civil and religious, and seduced weak minds from the duties of allegiance, and all that the presbytery could do was to prevent them from teaching under the sanction of their authority. But this association of Presbyterians having little countenance from government, and no name or authority in law, their success depended wholly on the superior knowledge, popular talents, and exemplary life of their ministers. From time to time clergymen were afterward sent out at the request of the people from Scotland and Ireland; and the colonists contributed to maintain them, till at length funds were established in trust by private legacies and donations, to be appropriated for the support of Presbyterian ministers, and the encouragement of that mode of religious worship and government."

In the last half of the period of which we have been speaking, 1730-1740, began that series of events which led to the remarkable revival of pure religion which has been called "The Great Awakening." The state of religion in England was confessedly low. Piety was called fanaticism, and formalism among those who professed religion was in the ascendant. The same condition of things which Bishop Burnet so bewails in the beginning of this century was still prevailing. "The

outward state of things," said he, "is black enough, God knows; but that which heightens my fears rises chiefly from the inward state into which we are unhappily fallen." "The much greater part of those who come to be ordained are ignorant to a degree not to be apprehended by those who are not obliged to know it. Those who have read some few books, yet never seem to have read the Scriptures." "The case is not much better in many who have got into orders." Archbishop Secker, Butler in the preface to his *Analogy*, Watts, and others, testify to the general decay in vital godliness. The right of presentation to a "living" was owned in many instances by noblemen, whose ancestors had endowed the parish churches in ancient times, or who had purchased this right as a provision for a younger son; and these young men were educated for the church irrespective of their spiritual state, as others were educated for the army or for public life. The same power of patronage existed in Scotland, and though repeatedly abolished, was as often renewed, and was attended with the same evil effects. It was under these circumstances that God was pleased in a remarkable manner to pour out the influences of his Spirit. In 1734 occurred a great revival of religion at Northampton, Mass., which extended to many other towns. The same results followed in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, a little later, under the preaching of Samuel Blair and the Tennents. Contemporaneously with these events, and for some time previous, "Methodism" was receiving its earliest beginnings in the University of Oxford. Its founder, John Wesley, was the grandson of one of the two thousand Non-conformist divines of England who were ejected from their livings in the days of Charles the Second. His mother, a woman of great energy and eminent piety and intelligence, was the daughter of Dr. Annesley, a Puritan divine of great influence and worth. He and his brother Charles, with Messrs. Morgan and Kirkham, bound themselves to pursue a methodical life of study, religious and ascetic observance, and obtained among their companions in the University, for this reason, the name of "Methodists." In 1732 they were joined by Ingham and Broughton, Clayton, and Hervey, the author of *"Theron and Aspasio."* In 1734 the celebrated George Whitefield, then a servitor in Pembroke College of the same University, became a member of this brotherhood, and shared with them the ridicule they encountered among their fellow-students. They took orders in the Church of England, and had no other intention, till they were compelled by the perse-

cution they met with, than to labor within its bounds. The principal members of this fraternity became connected with the Georgia colony in its earliest period. The first clergyman we read of in the infant colony of Georgia was the Rev. Henry Herbert, D. D., who offered to accompany the first colonists without fee or reward, and to assist them in their settlement. He returned after spending three months in Georgia, and died on his passage to England. General Oglethorpe remained with the colony some fifteen months. The Rev. Samuel Quincy, a kinsman of the Quincys of Massachusetts, succeeded the Rev. Dr. Herbert as missionary to Georgia. He left England in March, 1733, and continued at his post till October, 1735, when he left, disgusted at the conduct of "the insolent and tyrannical magistrate to whom the government of the colony was committed." On Oglethorpe's return to Georgia, in 1735, he was accompanied by John and Charles Wesley, who lived with him at his table, and were treated by him with deference and kindness. These men had been drawn to this new colony by the prospect it held out to them of a missionary life among the Indians of the American wilderness. There accompanied them also two of their friends, Ingham and Delamotte. In the same vessel sailed twenty-five Moravians, under their bishop, David Nitschman, and a company of Salzburgers, under the charge of Philip George Frederick de Reck. This mission was fruitful in greater good to Wesley than of service to the colony itself. His life had been one of religious formalism and severe asceticism. He now learned the nature of true religion. On their passage across the Atlantic they encountered a dreadful storm, their mainsail was rent in pieces, and the sea broke violently over their frail vessel. The English on board were filled with terror, and screamed out with fear. They were in the midst of their Sabbath worship, engaged in a psalm of praise. The Germans calmly sang on as if nothing had occurred. "Were you not afraid?" said Wesley to one of them. He answered, "I thank God, no." "But were not your women and children?" "No; our women and children are not afraid to die." The beautiful simplicity of this confiding faith moved the heart of Wesley. He could but feel in his inmost soul that it was a faith he had not yet attained. When he met Spangenberg, one of their pastors, after his arrival in America, and inquired of him as to the best plans of ministerial labor—"My brother," said he, "I must first ask you one or two questions. Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit

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that you are a child of God?" Perceiving Wesley's embarrassment, he again asked, "Do you know Jesus Christ?" "I know he is the Saviour of the world," replied Wesley. "True," rejoined the Moravian, "but do you know that he has saved *you*?" "I hope he has died to save me," said he. Spangenberg added, "Do you know yourself?" "I do," answered Wesley; "but," added he, "I fear they were mere words." After he had again returned to England he writes in allusion to these times, "This then have I learned in the ends of the earth—that I am fallen short of the glory of God." "I have no hope but that of being justified freely, through the redemption of Jesus Christ."

These convictions were to bear fruit in his after life. The missionaries had been visited on board their vessel by Tomochichi, the Indian chief who had visited England, and who bade him welcome. John and Charles Wesley rowed by Savannah to pay their "*first* visit in America to the poor Indians," but were disappointed at finding them absent, which was but a prelude to the disappointment which they met with in this their main object in coming to America. Wesley's first public exercises were well attended in Savannah, and he entered on his duties with great enthusiasm; but his ministry was attended with small success. He soon estranged the people from him by severity. He would baptize children only by immersion; he denied the sacrament to one of the most pious men of the colony, because he had not received baptism by Episcopal hands. He estranged a numerous and influential family by an unfortunate courtship, from which he retired under the advice of the elders of the Moravian church, whom he consulted. His congregation became thin, and but little interested in him. His brother Charles, who was secretary for Indian affairs, and chaplain of Oglethorpe at Frederica, wore out the people with his four public services a day; persecution was raised against him; every kind of indignity was offered him; Oglethorpe's affections were for a time withdrawn from him, and he was threatened with assassination. He left the colony, returning by the way of Boston. John Wesley, about fifteen months afterwards, followed him, leaving privately to avoid a vexatious detention.—(Journal of Wm. Stephens, Sec. of the Trustees, vol. i., p. 45.)

His place was supplied by that paragon of successful pulpit eloquence, George Whitefield, who, though disowned by his own church, had no small share in introducing that epoch which is the starting-point of our modern religious history. He had

passed through the same experience of spiritual agony with Wesley, and sought deliverance from sin and guilt in ascetic inflictions. He did penance in good earnest for the relief of his soul. "I always chose," says he, "the worst sort of food; my apparel was mean. I thought it unbecoming a penitent to have my hair powdered. I wore woollen gloves, a patched gown, and dirty shoes. I went to Christ Church walk, near our college, and continued in silent prayer nearly two hours—sometimes lying flat on my face, sometimes kneeling upon my knees." Under these self-inflicted torments his "memory failed," his power of meditating was taken from him; he "could fancy himself like nothing so much as a man locked up in iron armor." A serious illness of many weeks was the result. This illness he regarded as "a glorious visitation." As he was convalescing, he was accustomed to spend two hours over his Greek Testament, with wrestling prayer. He was delivered from his burden. "The spirit of mourning was taken from me, and I knew what it was truly to rejoice in God my Saviour. For some time I could not avoid singing psalms wherever I was." "The star which I had seen in the distance before began to appear again,—the day-star arose in my heart." He passed through the same experience with Luther, in the cloister at Erfurth, and was another illustration of the old maxim that there are three things which make the minister of Christ: *Tentatio, Meditatio, Precatio*,—Temptation, Meditation, and Prayer. At twenty-one years of age, contrary to the resolution of the diocesans, he was ordained, by Bishop Benson, to the office of deacon in the Church of England. He had often "prayed against entering into the service of the church so soon." He had frequently said: "Lord, I am a youth of uncircumcised lips; Lord, send me not into thy vineyard yet." Yet he yielded, fearing he should fight against God. "I can call heaven and earth to witness," said he, "that when the bishop laid his hand upon me, I gave myself up to be a martyr for Him who hung upon the cross for me." His first sermon in the church of St. Mary de Crypt, where he was baptized, gave proof of his future success. The sight of the large congregation at first awed him, but, as he proceeded, "he perceived the fire kindled." "Glorious Jesus," he writes,

"Unloose my stammering tongue, to tell
Thy love immense, unsearchable!"

While engaged in London and Oxford he had received letters from the Wesleys and Ingham, then in Georgia, inviting him

to the infant colony. "Only Mr. Delamotte," says John Wesley, "is with me, until God shall stir up the hearts of some of his servants to come over and help us. What if thou art the man, Mr. Whitefield? Do you ask me what you shall have?—Food to eat, and raiment to put on; a house to lay your head in, such as your master had not; and a crown of glory that fadeth not away." A profitable curacy was offered him in London, but he heeded it not. "My heart leaped within me," says he, "and, as it were, echoed to the call." He was accepted by the trustees as a missionary to Georgia, Dec. 21st, 1737, when he had just completed his twenty-second year. During the interval before his embarkation, the churches were thronged where he preached. It was difficult for him to make his way through the crowds to the pulpit. At Bristol "some climbed upon the roof of the church, others hung upon the rails of the organ-loft, and the mass within made the air so hot with their breath that the steam fell from the pillars like drops of rain." "The nearer the time of my embarkation, the more affectionate and eager the people grew. Thousands and thousands of prayers were put up for me. The people would run and stop me in the alleys of the churches, hug me in their arms, and follow me with wishful looks. Such a sacrament I never saw before as at St. Dunstan's. The tears of the communicants mingled with the cup; and had not Jesus given us some of his 'new wine,' our partings would have been insupportable." At length, "having preached in a good part of the London churches, collected about a thousand pounds for the charity schools, and got upwards of three hundred pounds for the poor in Georgia, I left London on Dec. 28th, 1737, in the twenty-third year of my age, and went, in the strength of God, as a poor pilgrim, on board the Whitaker." One "dear friend," James Habersham, accompanied him, who, in opposition to the views of his friends, resolved to cast in his lot with him. They landed in Savannah in the month of May, 1738; and Whitefield, though much reduced by fever, met with a kind reception from Delamotte, the catechist who accompanied Wesley, and by the authorities of the town.

William Stephens, who afterwards showed himself an enemy to his doctrines and a severe "critick" of his conduct, testifies on all occasions, during Whitefield's first visit, to the "engaging" character of his services, to his "eloquence," to the numbers and attention of the audiences who assembled to hear him, to his "assiduity in the performance of divine offices," to "his

open and easy deportment," and to the "indefatigable exercise of his ministry through the whole week in the adjacent villages as well as in the town." Soon after his arrival he was struck with the forlorn condition of the children whom he met with, and resolved to carry into effect the project of an Orphan House, which, he says, was not an original suggestion of his own, but "was proposed by his dear friend, Rev. Charles Wesley, who, with his excellency, Governor Oglethorpe, had concerted such a scheme before he, Whitefield, had any thought of going abroad." He "settled little schools in and about Savannah to breed the rising generation in the nurture and admonition of the Lord,"—(Whitefield's Letters, vol. i., p. 44, vol. iii., p. 463,)—and employed Mr. Habersham, who entered into his schemes with warm enthusiasm, to gather around him the youth in preparation for the great enterprise. He then set out for Charlestown in South Carolina, paid his first visit to Commissary Garden, and at his entreaty preached the next Sunday morning and evening in a grand church resembling one of the new churches in London. The inhabitants seemed at his first coming up to despise his youth, but their countenances were altered before worship was over. Mr. Garden thanked him most cordially, and apprised him of the ill treatment Mr. Wesley had met with in Georgia, and assured him that were the same arbitrary proceedings to commence against him, he would defend him with his life and fortune. He also said something about the colony of Georgia that much encouraged him, as if he thought its flourishing was not far off, and that Charlestown was fifteen times bigger now, than when he (Mr. Garden) first came there.—(Gillies' Life of Whitefield, p. 29). "The Bishop of London's commissary," says he in his journal, "the Rev. Mr. G., received me very courteously, and offered me a lodging. How does God raise up friends wherever I go!"

On the 6th of September, 1738, Mr. Whitefield embarked in a ship bound from Charlestown to London.

BOOK EIGHTH.

A. D. 1740-1750.

CHAPTER I.

THE year 1740 is signalized in the history of South Carolina by a servile insurrection, which, though limited in its extent, is yet the only one during the one hundred and ninety-nine years since negro slaves were first introduced by Governor Yeamans till this present moment, which ever came to a head and was fairly commenced. The relations of both Carolina and Georgia towards the Spaniards of Florida were far from being easy. The garrison at St. Augustine had been largely re-enforced, and representations having been made by Governor Bull of the threatening aspect of affairs, General Oglethorpe was sent out with a regiment of soldiers, and at the same time was made major-general of all the forces of Georgia and Carolina. The Spaniards attempted to seduce the Creek Indians and turn them against the Georgians. The Spanish government demanded of the British crown that Oglethorpe should be recalled. This being indignantly refused, an attempt was set on foot for his assassination, which was frustrated. Another attempt was now made to initiate a servile insurrection. There were at this time about forty thousand negroes in the province, who had not yet lost the fierceness of their savage state. Liberty and protection had been repeatedly promised them at St. Augustine, and Spanish emissaries had more than once been found tampering with them, and persuading them too successfully to escape to that settlement. The governor of Florida had formed a regiment of these refugees, allowing them the same pay, and clothing them in the same uniform, with the Spanish soldiers. Of these things many of the negroes in Carolina were aware. Five negro servants, who were cattle-hunters, some of whom belonged to Captain McPherson, after wounding his son and killing another man, made their escape. The people of Carolina were now thoroughly alarmed. In the midst of this agitation, a number of negroes having assembled at Stono, first surprised and killed two young men in a warehouse, and then took possession of the guns and ammunition with which it was supplied. Provided thus with arms, they elected one of their

number captain, and commenced their march towards the southwest, with colors flying and drums beating, in imitation of their brethren at St. Augustine. Entering the house of Mr. Godfrey, they murdered him, his wife, and children, took all the arms he had, set fire to the house, and marched towards Jacksonborough, plundering and burning every dwelling, killing the whites, and compelling the negroes to join them. Governor Bull was on his return to Charleston when he met the band, and seeing them armed, he swiftly rode out of their reach, and crossing over to John's Island, he arrived at Charleston, spreading the alarm. Mr. Golightly also encountered the insurgents, and rode quickly on to the Presbyterian church at Wilton, where Archibald Stobo was preaching to a numerous congregation. By law, the planters were obliged to go armed to church, and in this instance the law proved to be a beneficial regulation. The women were left trembling with fear. Mr. Golightly joined the armed men, who, under the command of Captain Bee, marched in quest of the negroes, now formidable in numbers. They had advanced fifteen miles, spreading desolation in their path. Having found rum in the houses they plundered, and drank freely of it, they halted in an open field, and began to sing and dance by way of triumph. The militia came upon them while they were occupied with these rejoicings. They had just got through their repast and were about moving off, having fired the dwelling-house at a plantation since known as "the Battlefield." The militia stationed themselves around, to prevent escape, and a party advanced into the open field to attack them. The intoxication of several favored the assailants. Their black captain, Cato, was shot, after he had discharged one musket and was stooping to take up another. A few others were killed. Many ran back to their plantations, in hopes of escaping detection in the absence of their masters. The greater part were taken and tried, the leaders and first insurgents were executed, and those compelled to join were pardoned. Governor Bull advised General Oglethorpe of the insurrection, desiring him to seize all straggling Spaniards and negroes whom he might find in Georgia, and a company of rangers was employed to patrol the frontiers and to block up all passages by which they might escape to Florida.—(Hewatt, vol. ii., 72-74; Ramsay, ii., 110-112.)

In this insurrection twenty whites were murdered, and but for the Presbyterian congregation at Wiltown, matters would have been much worse.

Rev. Mr. Stobo's long and useful ministry must have ceased soon after this. In a paper, dated October 15th, 1741, found in the archives of the Wilton church, mention is made of his death as a recent occurrence. His ministry in Carolina had reached through forty years of the eventful history of its early settlement. He had been the founder of several churches, had been the most influential man in forming the first presbytery organized in the province, which was the third in priority of organization of all the presbyteries of the United States. In the same year, November 18th, 1740, the Huguenot church in Charleston was burnt, and their early records perished in the conflagration. This was one item in the many losses which the city of Charleston at that time experienced. One-half of the city was consumed, three hundred of the best houses were reduced to ashes, large quantities of produce and merchandise destroyed, and many families ruined as to their earthly prospects. The occasion was suitably improved by the ministers of the gospel in their public ministrations. The sermon of Josiah Smith, occasioned by this event, entitled "The Burning of Sodom," was printed in Boston in the same year.—(No. 362, Old South Library, Boston.) In another discourse in commemoration of the same event, he thus describes this scene of terror, and then charges home upon the people the vices which prevailed among them:—"You can none of you have forgot the *Triumphs* of that *flaming* Day. Do you not remember how the *proud Flames* laugh'd at your *Engines*, your *Art*, and your *Numbers*? Have you forgot, how with *winged* Speed the Fire flew from House to House? How it seem'd to choose out your *fairest Buildings*, and burnt them down to their Foundation? Where was then the Beauty of *Charlestown-Bay*? Where was her *Merchandize and Traffick*? How did the *Gay Gentlemen* look? How did you *confess* your Weakness? What *Confusion* sate upon your Faces, and mingled with your Cries? What *Screamings*, what *wringing of Hands* among the *pitiful Women*? Yea, how were the stout-hearted spoiled, and their Hearts ready to fail, as if the *flaming Scenes* of Nature, which are to close the World, were already set open, as if the *Elements* were indeed in a Flame?"—(Sermons by Josiah Smith, A. M., Minister of the Gospel in Charlestown, So. Car., Boston, MDCCLVII., Serm. XV.).

The Rev. Mr. Whitefield, on his return to England, which he visited for the double purpose of obtaining ordination and furthering his project of an orphan-house, found himself received with cold civility. In two days five pulpits were

closed against him. The clergy began to see that his doctrine of a new birth and of justification without works of man's righteousness worked against them, while his zeal was a constant rebuke to the sloth and worldliness of too many of them. In proportion as he lost their confidence he gained upon the hearts of the common people.

In Bristol he had the use of the churches for two or three Sundays, but they were at length denied him. The embargo occasioned by a war with Spain being removed, and more than a thousand pounds being collected for the orphan-house, he embarked for Philadelphia, where he arrived in November, 1739. Multitudes gathered around him as in England, and all denominations flocked to hear him. In New York the Bishop of London's commissary refused him his pulpit. In the afternoon he preached in the fields, and in the evening in the pulpit of Mr. Pemberton's Presbyterian church on Wall street. It was in this city that in his discourse to a large number of sailors he introduced the description of a storm and shipwreck, which so wrought upon them that in the climax of the scene they sprang to their feet, exclaiming, "Take to the long-boat!" As he returned to Georgia by land he preached throughout his route, as was estimated, often to ten thousand people. He regarded himself as sometimes in danger. Once he heard the wolves "howling like a kennel of hounds near the road." He had a narrow escape in crossing the Potomac in a storm. Once he was obliged to swim his horse in crossing the swollen streams. One night he and his companion Seward lost themselves in the woods of South Carolina, and were greatly alarmed at seeing groups of negroes dancing around great fires. On his arrival in Charleston, the commissary, so friendly before, was absent, and the curate would not open the door of St. Philip's without his leave. Josiah Smith, the pastor, threw open the Independent church, and a large and "polite" congregation assembled to hear him. There was "an affected finery and gait of dress and deportment which," he says, "I question if the Court-end of London could exceed." The next morning, in the French church, the scene was altered. A visible and almost universal concern prevailed. Many of the inhabitants desired him to give them one sermon more; he deferred his journey to do so, and his labors were not in vain. On the 11th of January, 1740, he reached Savannah. Mr. Habersham had already selected a lot of five hundred acres, about ten miles from Savannah, as a site for the orphan-house, and had begun to clear it; and between attention to this and

his numerous religious services, his time was fully occupied. The subjects of his preaching for a number of Sabbaths were the doctrine of justification and the new birth, and though his congregations were large for so small a population, there were some to whom his doctrines were exceedingly distasteful. In March, 1740, he again visited Charleston to meet his brother, captain of a ship from England. Commissary Garden, who had pledged himself "to defend him with his life and fortune," had now become his enemy. On the 17th of March he addressed a letter to Whitefield, calling in question his doctrine of justification, and calling upon him to defend his charges against the Bishop of London and his clergy. Whitefield had said in his sermon, "Observe, my dear brethren, the words of the article—[the Twelfth Article of the Church of England]; good works are the fruit of faith, and follow justification. How can they then precede, or be any way the cause of it? No, our *persons* must be justified before our performances can be accepted." Garden replied, "If good works do necessarily spring out of a true and lively faith, and a true and lively faith necessarily precedes justification, the consequence is plain, that good works must not only follow after, but precede justification also." Whitefield replied the next day, declining the controversy, and in language less respectful than was proper to his ecclesiastical superior. "I perceive," says he, "that you are angry overmuch. Was I ever so much inclined to dispute, I would stay till the cool of the day. Your letter more and more confirms me that my charge against the clergy is just and reasonable. It would be endless to enter into such a private debate as you, Reverend Sir, seem desirous of. You have read my sermon; be pleased to read it again; and if there be anything contrary to sound doctrine, or the Articles of the Church of England, be pleased to let the public know it from the press." Garden wrote and published six letters against Whitefield. Mr. Garden descends in these letters to language unworthy of him as a minister of Christ. "Your Reverence," says he, addressing Whitefield; and if "the latter had been censorious and imprudent in the language he used," Garden in these letters was ill-mannered and virulent. They were answered in a style sarcastic and severe by the Rev. Andrew Croswell, with an appendix in the same strain by one of the Boston pastors; probably the Rev. Joshua Gee.* Gar-

* The copy we have seen in the Old South Church Library, Boston. "Six Letters to Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, by Alexander Garden, M. A., Rector

den contended that good works, though not the meritorious cause, were the condition and means of our justification. Crosswell shows that there must, in this case, be a certain amount of good works needed for the justification of each individual, and the precise amount being nowhere specified, a man must be always in doubt whether he is justified or not. "A man," says he, "might attain one-half, two-thirds, three-quarters, or ninety-nine hundredths of justification." "What would become of a poor sinner that should be taken out of the world at that unhappy juncture, wherein his justification was so near being effected that there wanted but one good wish, one '*Lord, have mercy on me*' more, to complete it? Shall a man be miserable forever for this defect?" "Or shall he be doomed to *purgatory* for a while, to satisfy for what was wanting, and thereby made meet for the inheritance of the saints in light? Lastly, I would ask, what will become of those good works which are the overplus after a man is justified?"—(Answer to Rev. Mr. Garden, Boston: Kneeland and Green, 1741.) Mr. Whitefield was again befriended by Mr. Smith, in whose meeting-house he preached. At the desire of some of the inhabitants he plead the cause of his orphans, and took up the first collection made for his orphan-house in America, which amounted to seventy pounds sterling. In reference to this visit to Charleston he says, "A great work I believe is begun there. God has given me an earnest of what he will do in America, by the large collection that was made at Charles Town." This he says when speaking of his intention to journey northward to preach the gospel, and make fresh collections for his orphans. "I have been a few days returned from Charles Town, where our Lord Jesus, I trust, has begun a glorious work. Many came to me under convictions, and were made to cry out, 'What shall we do to be saved?'"—(Letters dated Savannah; March 26; New Brunswick, April 28, 1740.) On his return to Savannah he laid the first brick of his orphan-house, and called the institution Bethesda, the House of Mercy. This occurred on March the 25th. The next day, March 26th, the Rev. Josiah Smith preached in Charleston his famous sermon on the Character, Preaching, &c., of Rev. George Whitefield, which was forwarded to Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper of Boston, who published it in Boston, A. D. 1740, with a commendatory preface. The large extract we here give will be

of St. Philip's, Charlestown, and Commissary in South Carolina, together with Mr. Whitefield's Answer to the first Letter." Second Edition, Boston, F. Fleet, 1740, p. 54.) See also Tracy's "Great Awakening."

forgiven, not only for its eloquent and masterly defence of Whitefield, but as a favorable specimen of a minister of Christ who once occupied a conspicuous place in the city of Charleston, and deserves to be held in remembrance. It is from a copy preserved in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass.

"Job 32 : 17—'I said, I will answer also my part, I also will show mine opinion.' My design from this text is to show my impartial opinion of that *son of thunder* who has lately graced and warmed *this* desk, and would have been an ornament, I think, to the best pulpit in the province. Happy shall I think myself if I can only clinch the nails, *this great master of assemblies* has already fastened. Elihu, the gallant youth before us, says, *I am now full of matter. The spirit within me constraineth me. My belly is as wine which hath no vent, it is ready to burst like new bottles. I will speak, that I may be refreshed.* Others have freely spoken their sentiments of the wondrous man before me, and I have heard the *defaming* as well as applause of many. *I said therefore, I will answer also my part, I also will show mine opinion.* In this I design no offence, nor would I give *flattering* titles to any man, lest my Maker should take me away.

"The scheme I propose is,

"I. To give my opinion of the doctrines he insisted upon and so well established.

"II. To speak something of the manner of his preaching.

"III. To offer my sentiments upon his person and character.

"Lastly. To give you my thoughts, what Providence seems to have in its *view*, in raising up men of this stamp in our day, almost everywhere spoken against, yet crowded after and justly admired.

"I. I shall give you my opinion of the doctrines he insisted on amongst us." Then follow Original Sin (Imputation). "Another doctrine we have lately had in the warmest language impressed upon us is the *Pauline* one of JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE," REGENERATION.

"Yet all that vast Reverence, with wh I have rec^d these Doctrines from the Mouth of our famous Preacher, c^d not win my Applause or Approbation of some few *harsher* Epithets and Expressions (you know what I mean) which dropt from his lips. These, in my opinion, may be pronounced *failings*; but such as often attend a *warm zeal* for Orthodoxy, in points of the last importance; arise from a principle of *Conscience*, and are found interwoven with the brightest Characters; and he that has none, let him cast the first stone.

* * * * *

"II. I shall next give you my opinion of the MANNER of his preaching. And here, I need not say, nor can my Pen describe, his *Action* and *Gesture*, in all their Strength and Decencies. He is certainly a *finished Preacher*, a great Master of Pulpit-Oratory and Elocution, while a noble negligence ran through his stile. Yet his discourses were very extraordinary when we consider how little they were *premeditated*, and how many of them he gave us the little time he was here. Many, I trust, have felt, and will long feel the Impressions of his Zeal and Fire, the Passion and Flame of his Expressions.

"He appeared to me, in all his Discourses, very deeply affected and impressed in his own Heart. How did that burn and boil within him when he spake of the things he had made, touching *the King*! How was his Tongue like the pen of a ready writer, touched as with a coal from the Altar! With what a Flow of words, what a ready profusion of language, did he speak to us upon the great concerns of our souls. In what a flaming light did he set our eternity before us! How earnestly did he press Christ upon us! How did he move our passions, with the constraining love of such a Redeemer!

The Awe, the Silence, the Attention, which sat upon the face of so great an audience, was an Argument how he could reign over all their powers. Many thought he spake as never man spake before him. So charmed were people with his manner of address, that they shut up their shops and forgot their secular business, and laid aside their schemes for the world; and the oftener he preached the keener edge he seemed to put on their desires of hearing him again. How awfully, with what thunder and sound, did he discharge the Artillery of Heaven upon us? And yet how could he soften and melt, even a *soldier of Ulysses*, with the love and mercy of God? How close, strong, and pungent were his Applications to the Conscience; mingling light and heat, pointing the Arrows of the Almighty at the Hearts of Sinners, while he poured the Balm upon the wounds of the Contrite, and made broken bones rejoice? Eternal Themes, the tremendous Solemnities of our religion, were all alive on his tongue! So methinks (if you will forgive the figure) Saint Paul would *look* and *speak* in a pulpit, and in some such manner, I have been tempted to conceive of a Seraph were he sent down to preach among us, and to tell what things he had seen and heard *above*! How bold and courageous did he look? He was no Flatterer, and would not allow men to settle upon their Lees; did not prophesy smooth things nor sew Pillows. He taught the way of God in Truth, and regarded not the person of men. The politest, the most modish of our vices he struck at; the most fashionable Entertainments, regardless of every one's presence, but His in whose name he spoke, with this Authority. And I dare warrant, if none should go to these diversions, till they have answered the solemn questions he put to their consciences, our Theatre would soon sink and perish. * * *

"III. I now proceed to show my opinion of our Preacher, in his PERSONAL CHARACTER and behaviour. * * * 'Tis indispensable with me that he affects no party in religion nor sets himself at the Head of any. Had this been his aim no man living has had fairer occasions offered; but he abhors the Spirit, he endeavors to suppress it. He is always careful to time his Sabbath discourses so as not to interfere with the stated hours of worship in that church, of which he is a professed member and minister, and, in the opinion of many people a very bright ornament, because, as he told us, he would not tempt away hearers from their proper and respective Pastors. And is not this a *noble* and *generous*, a *catholick* and *Christian Spirit*? He is not bigoted to the Modalities and lesser rites and Forms of religion, while zealous enough and very warm and jealous in all its essentials, especially in the divine Honours and Godhead of the Saviour. And now behold! God seems to have revived the ancient Spirit and Doctrines. He is raising up of our young men with zeal and courage to stem the Torrent. They have been in *labours more abundant*. They have preached with such *Fire, Assiduity, and success*; such a solemn awe have they struck upon their hearers; so unaccountably have they conquered the prejudices of many persons; such deep convictions have their sermons produced; so much have they roused and kindled the zeal of *ministers* and *people*; so *intrepidly* do they push through all opposition, that my soul overflows with Joy, and my heart is too full to express my Hopes. It looks as if some happy period were opening, to bless the world with another Reformation."

Mr. Whitefield visited Charleston again, the 30th of June, 1744, and preached in that city, at Dorchester, Ashley Ferry, Pon Pon, and John's Island. On Sabbath, July 6th, he attended church at St. Philip's. "I heard the commissary," said he, "preach as virulent, unorthodox, and inconsistent a discourse as ever I heard in my life. His heart seemed full

of choler and resentment. Out of the abundance thereof he poured so many bitter words against the Methodists (as he called them) in general, and me in particular, that several who intended to receive the sacrament at his hands withdrew. Never, I believe, was such a preparation sermon preached before. After sermon, he sent his clerk to desire me not to come to the sacrament till he had spoken with me. I immediately retired to my lodgings, rejoicing that I was accounted worthy to suffer this further degree of contempt for my dear Lord's sake." On the following day the commissary issued a writ against Whitefield, citing him to appear before his ecclesiastical court. It was couched in the following terms:—

"Alexander Garden, lawfully constituted Commissary of the Right Reverend Father in Christ, Edmund, by Divine permission Lord Bishop of London, supported by the royal authority underwritten.—

"Alexander Garden.

"To all and singular clerks and literate persons whomsoever, in and throughout the whole province of South Carolina, wheresoever appointed, Greeting.

"To you conjunctly and severally, we commit, and strictly enjoining, command, that you do cite, or cause to be cited, peremptorily, George Whitefield, clerk and presbyter of the Church of England, that he lawfully appear before us in the parish church of St. Philip, Charlestown, and in the judicial place of the same, on Tuesday, the 15th day of the instant July, 'twixt the hours of nine and ten in the forenoon, then and there in justice to answer to certain articles, heads or interrogatories which will be objected and ministered unto him concerning the mere health of his soul, and the reformation and correction of his manners and excesses, and chiefly for omitting to use the form of prayers prescribed in the Communion Book: and further, to do and receive what shall be just on that behalf, on pain of law and contempt. And what you shall do in the premises, you shall duly certify us, together with these presents.

"Given under our hands and seals of our office, at Charlestown, this seventh day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and forty."

This citation appeared to give Mr. Whitefield little alarm. On the same day this writ was issued he preached for Mr. Chanler, "a gracious Baptist minister about fourteen miles from Charlestown," and on the next day twice "to a large audience in Mr. Osgood's meeting-house, a young Independent minister" at Dorchester; the next day at Dorchester in the morning and at Charleston in the evening; on the next day, the 10th, he preached and read prayers in Christ's church, and twice at Charleston on the next day. On the 11th the citation was served upon him; on the 12th he preached and read prayers twice on John's Island. On Sabbath, the 13th, he heard the commissary again. A man is not a very candid hearer who sits and hears himself preached

against. Whitefield thus describes the sermon:—"Had some infernal spirit been sent to draw my picture, I think it scarcely possible that he could paint me in more horrid colors. I think, if ever, then was the time that all manner of evil was spake against me falsely for Christ's sake. The commissary seemed to have ransacked church history for instances of enthusiasm and abused grace. He drew a parallel between me and all the Oliverians, Ranters, Quakers, French Prophets, till he came down to a family of Dutartes, who lived not many years ago in South Carolina, and were guilty of the most notorious incests and murders."—(See back, p. .) From the antecedents and theological views of Commissary Garden we are not surprised at the analogy he traced. Whitefield himself had not yet wholly defined the limits between true spiritual emotion, the direct work of the Holy Spirit, and that fanaticism which arises out of nervous excitement and is of the earth earthy. On the next day, Monday, July 14th, he again preached twice; and on Tuesday, the 15th, he appeared before the commissary and his court, consisting, besides himself, of the Rev. Messrs. William Guy, Timothy Mellichamp, Stephen Roe, and William Orr,* assisting. "This is said to have been the first court of the kind ever attempted in the colonies."† Whitefield protested against the admission of any articles against him, doubted the authority of the court to proceed in the cause, and asked for time to offer his objections. The court adjourned till nine o'clock the next day for this purpose. He preached twice that same day. The court having assembled according to adjournment, Mr. Graham appeared as prosecuting attorney, and Mr. Andrew Rutledge as counsel for the respondent. He now made exceptions in writing "in recusation of the judge," and proposed to refer them to six indifferent arbitrators, three to be chosen by Commissary Garden. A reply was made to these exceptions by William Smith, their relevancy was argued in behalf of Mr. Whitefield by Mr. Rutledge, and the contrary by James Graham. On the adjournment of the court, he went to James Island, read prayers and preached. On the following day he appeared in court, found that the exceptions were repelled, that arbitrators would not be appointed, and took his

* William Orr had been a Presbyterian minister, and was a fugitive from the discipline of his own church.—Webster's Hist. of the Pres. Ch., pp. 410, 411.

† Tracy, Great Awakening, p. 80.

appeal to the lords commissioners appointed by the king for hearing appeals in spiritual causes from the plantations in America.—(Dalcho, p. 130.) The following day, the 18th of July, he appeared before the commissary's court, and bound himself in a penalty of ten pounds to prosecute his appeal in London within twelve months. These things gave him no great uneasiness. Under the same date he writes, joyfully, "Praise the Lord, O my soul! Our glorious Emanuel seems to have girt his sword upon his thigh, and to be riding on from conquering to conquer. He gets himself the victory in Philadelphia. He is getting himself the victory in Charlestown also. Indeed a glorious work is begun and carried on here. Many souls are awakened to a sense of the divine life. The alteration in the people since I came here at first is surprising. I preach twice a day, generally, either in town or in the villages around. The commissary shoots out his arrows, even bitter words. He hath denied me the sacrament, and cited me to appear before him and his court; I was obliged to appeal home." "The Lord is bringing mighty things to pass. I am surprisingly strengthened to bear the heat and burden of every day. My dear Lord never leaves nor forsakes me, but works by my ministry more and more. O that I was humble! O that I was a little, little child. The inhabitants here are wondrous kind. They attend morning and evening most cheerfully on my preaching." The appeal referred to was never tried. Either Whitefield himself thought it not advisable to prosecute it, or the dignitaries at home shrunk from it as unfruitful in good.

"The court being ended, the commissary," says Whitefield, "desired to speak with me. I asked him to my lodgings. He chose to walk in a green, near the church. His spirit was somewhat calmer than usual; but after an hour's conversation we were as far from agreeing as before." "All his discourse was so inconsistent and contrary to the gospel of our Lord, that I was obliged to tell him that I believed him to be an unconverted man, an enemy to God, and of a like spirit with the persecutor Saul. At this he smiled; and, after we had walked a long while, we parted; and God gave me great satisfaction that I had delivered my soul in my private conversation with the commissary." This was one of the many instances in which he expressed his judgment of the religious state of ministers of the gospel that were opposed to him, more to his own injury than to theirs, and of which, as well as

many other imprudent things, he expressed his regret in after life. Commissary Garden had satisfied his own conscience, and he could be calm now as well as Whitefield.

On July 20th, being the Sabbath, Garden preached in his wonted style, and Whitefield pronounced his farewell discourse to the people of Charleston. He "advised the people, as the gospel was not preached in the church, to go and hear it in the meeting-house." He speaks of a great change having taken place in that city since his coming. "What makes the change more remarkable in Charlestown people is, that they seemed to me, at my first coming, to be a people wholly devoted to pleasure. One well acquainted with their manners and circumstances told me more had been spent on polite entertainments than the poor's rate came to; but now the jewellers and dancing-masters began to cry out that their craft is in danger. A vast alteration is discernible in ladies' dresses; and some, while I have been speaking, have been so convinced of the sin of wearing jewels, that I have seen them with blushes put their hands to their ears, and cover them with their fans. But I hope the reformation has gone further than externals. Many moral, good sort of men, who were before settled on their lees, have been gloriously awakened to seek after Jesus Christ; and many a Lydia's heart has been opened to receive the things that were spoken. Indeed, the word came like a hammer and a fire. And a door, I believe, will be opened for teaching the poor negroes. Several of them have done their work in less time, that they might come to hear me. Many of their owners, who have been awakened, resolve to teach them Christianity. Had I time, and proper schoolmasters, I might immediately erect a negro school in South Carolina, as well as in Pennsylvania. Many would willingly contribute both money and land."

He left Charleston on the 21st of July, preaching as he had opportunity on his way to Savannah. On the 23d he arrived at Hugh Bryan's, at Good Hope; the next day went in Hugh Bryan's boat to Beaufort; the next evening he arrived at Savannah, and supposing it to be the lesson for the day, he expounded the passage respecting "Alexander the copper-smith," which, says Tracy, "evidently reminded him of Alexander the commissary."—(Great Awakening, p. 82.) "The commissary felt himself called upon," says Dr. Dalcho, "by a sense of duty to his congregation, to counteract the opinions of Mr. Whitefield from the pulpit. He preached and afterwards published a sermon from Acts, xvii. 6: *These that have*

turned the world upside down are come hither also. This was replied to by Mr. Whitefield in a sermon from 2 Tim. iv. 14: *Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil; the Lord reward him according to his works.*—(Dalcho, Hist., p. 140.) On Sabbath, July 27th, several of his friends from Carolina were present who came to see the orphan-house; he was unable to preach in the forenoon. In the evening service, which he was persuaded to attempt, he received assistance from on high. “I soon found power communicated to me from above. I felt sweet melting in my soul, and, ere I had prayed long, Mr. Bull dropped down as though shot with a gun. He soon got up and sat attentively to hear the sermon. The power soon began to spread abroad; the greatest part of the congregation were under concern.” The next day he was sent for to see Mr. Jonathan Bryan, whom he found “under great concern and strong convictions of sin.” “On July 31st,” says Mr. Stephens, who had no friendship for Mr. Whitefield or his doctrines, “Mr. Whitefield’s sloop came in from Carolina, by which several of his disciples in those parts came,” “one of them being an Anabaptist teacher.” “Sunday, August 3d, divers of the Carolina strangers, who came last week, continuing with their wives, &c., among whom Mr. Jones, minister at Port Royal, was one; Mr. Whitefield had two divines with him on the bench this day, when Mr. Jones read the prayers of the church, who is a man of very good character and orthodox principles; Mr. Tilly, the Anabaptist teacher, sat as auditor only, and preaching was the part which Mr. Whitefield took to himself, the like before noon and after; when he seemed to exert himself in a particular manner, laboring to make good the doctrine which more especially he had taught hitherto.” Mr. Jones preached the following Sabbath. Tuesday, August 12th—“Some of our Carolina strangers, who found themselves pretty well replenished with the Spirit, which they thought abounded from the doctrines they had learnt here, now left us; and Mr. Jones, the minister of Port Royal, also; but Mr. Tilly, being found useful during Mr. Whitefield’s weakness, continued yet as a helper and fellow-laborer.” So wrote the not very friendly pen of Mr. Stephens.—(Journal, vol. ii.) We learn from Mr. Whitefield himself that Messrs. Bull and Bryan returned home, rejoicing in hope. On the 15th he writes from Savannah: “The word runs like lightning in Charles Town. A serious, lively Baptist minister named Tilly is here also; he has preached often for me, and last Sunday received the sacrament in our way. O bigotry, thou art tumbling down

apace! Blessed be God." He had induced two or three dissenting ministers in and about Charleston to set up a weekly lecture. The first of these lectures was preached by Mr. Isaac Chanler, Baptist minister on Ashley river, and was published in Boston this same year.*

Whitefield left Savannah on the 18th of August for Charleston, on his way to Boston. Mr. Bull and J. Bryan resorted to him in Charleston to be "more established" in the right way. "Mr. Hugh Bryan they left at home drinking deeply of the cup of God's consolations. His wife came with them to Charleston, a gracious woman. By my advice they returned home, with a resolution to begin a negro school for their slaves. A young stage-player, convinced when I was last at New York, and who providentially came to Georgia when Mr. Bryan was there, is to be their first teacher."

Whitefield touched at Charleston on his return from his northern tour, made a short visit to Savannah to adjust the affairs of the orphan-house, and on January 1st, 1741, was at Jonathan Bryan's at Good Hope, on his way to Charleston to embark for England. Here he preached in the evening. "The Lord made it a Bethel." He again speaks of the young man, "lately a player in New York." "The latter," he says, "I intend for the ministry. Mr. H[ugh] B[ryan]'s wife died not long since, rejoicing in God her Saviour. Several others in these parts are growing in grace, and Mr. C——'s ministry hath been much blessed."—(Letter ccxli., Jan. 1, 1741.) The S. C. Gazette of Jan. 8th, chronicles the arrival of Mr. Whitefield in the city of Charleston, and mentions the fact that he had preached twice every day. He was here brought into a new difficulty. Hugh Bryan had written a letter which he had submitted to Whitefield, who had made some "corrections and alterations" in it. Among other things "it *hin ed* that the clergy *break* their canons." This was published November 20th, 1740. Whitefield being now in town, he, Bryan, and the printer were arrested, and Whitefield was held accountable for the hand he had in the matter. In the writ it is charged that Whitefield "had made and composed a false, malicious, and

* New Converts exhorted to cleave to the Lord. A sermon on Acts xi. 23, preached July 30, 1740, at a Wednesday evening weekly lecture in Charleston, set up at the motion and at the desire of Mr. Whitefield. With a brief introduction relating to the character of that excellent man. By Isaac Chanler, minister of the Gospel on Ashley River, in the Province of South Carolina. With a preface by the Rev. Mr. Cooper of Boston, N. E. Acts, xi. 21—*And the hand of the Lord was with them.* Boston: printed by D. Fowle, 1740.

infamous libel against the clergy of this province, in contempt of his majesty." The parties were admitted to bail, Whitefield giving security in £100 proclamation money to appear by his attorney at the next quarter sessions. "Blessed be God," he says, "for this further honor." In writing to a friend in Boston, he says: "I am bound to appear next sessions, as well as Mr. B——. He, I believe, for libelling the king, and I for libelling the clergy, in saying they break the canons daily. I think, dear sir, these are earnest of what I may be expected to meet with in my own native country." The next morning he preached upon Herod's stratagem to kill Christ: in the afternoon, on the murder of Naboth. He did not spare his persecutors. "My hearers," he says, "as well as myself, made the application. It was pretty close." He embarked for England, Friday, January 15th. "He preached here," says the S. C. Gazette, "twenty-two times, and likewise exhorted great numbers of people every night at his lodgings." "I never received," he says, "such generous tokens of love, I think, from any people before, as from some in Charlestown. They so loaded me with sea-stores that I sent much of them to Savannah."

Such was the opposition on the one part, and the admiring devotion on the other, which this "burning and shining light" was destined to meet with wherever he should go. There was in him a fervid, glowing piety; he was a man of unequalled eloquence, bent on the salvation of souls. This won to him the hearts of a large portion of God's people of every name. And there was, on the other hand, enough of rashness, imprudence, and hasty judgment, especially of men's spiritual state, to give his enemies a handle for their assaults, and to make a large portion of the calm and judicious to stand aloof, and finally to be driven also into the ranks of opposition to him. Yet he was the most conspicuous instrument, in the hands of God, among all he used in the eighteenth century, of rousing the slumbering spirit of piety, and disenchanting the church, in our own and other denominations, from the spell of formalism and worldly conformity which rested upon her.

Hugh Bryan and his wife, Tracy thinks,—(Great Awakening, p. 113,)—though very pious persons, were, perhaps, rather weak-minded, and not very well informed, and that Whitefield immensely overrated them. Bryan was impulsive, ready for every good work, and was sometimes carried far beyond the bounds of prudence, and his piety must have predominated over his wisdom. He was, however, greatly esteemed by the most experienced and spiritual Christians. Mr. Hutson

speaks of him as a gentleman of character in civil life, having been honored with commissions both in the magistracy and militia of the province. He was born in 1699, and died the last day of December, 1753. He was taken captive in the beginning of the Indian war of 1715, so memorable in the early history of the province, and disposed of as a slave to a half-breed by the king or chief. His master was killed in an engagement with the whites, and his own personal liberty was by that means somewhat enlarged. As often as the whites gained an advantage over them, the Indians clamored for his life. But he was always protected by the Indian chief, for the kindness which his father had shown the savages in former years. He met with the Bible during his captivity. His Indian mistress gave him one, and a copy of Beveridge's *Private Thoughts*, taken from some white family they had killed. In the providence of God, he was brought by his captors to St. Augustine, where he was given up by the Indian chief who had always befriended him; from which place he regained the house of his father, to the great joy of all. He was, at the time of his first acquaintance with Whitefield, a man of handsome fortune, and had been attentive to the duties of outward religion. His visit to Whitefield at his house in Georgia, and the expositions of the gospel plan of salvation, and especially his doctrine of the new birth, was blessed to his conversion. His wife had been a religious woman, retired seven times a day for prayer, and observed frequent fasts. But she rested not on the true foundation. "It was owing," she says, "to a false notion she had learned from the books she read, and the doctrines she heard preached, that our works were a means of our justification, and that Christ's merits were to make up their deficiency." "That we were to be saved by faith alone, without any regard to works, past, present, or to come, was what I never heard any of our clergy preach." She found, however, the way of peace before she had read or heard Mr. Whitefield's views on the new birth and justification. "I would not have you think," she says, "that I was led away by him with his enthusiastic notions, as the world is pleased to call them." This family became, if not his wise, yet his devoted friends. Mrs. Bryan died, in the triumphs of faith, towards the close of 1740.*

* See, for the above, "Living Christianity, delineated in the Diaries and Letters of two eminently pious persons, lately deceased, viz., Mr. Hugh Bryan and Mrs. Mary Hutson, both of South Carolina. With a preface by the Reverend Mr. John Conder and the Rev. Mr. Thomas Gibbons." Date

In the close of 1740, Rev. James Parker—born in Leicester, England, ordained to the ministry in London, and for seven years pastor at Gravesend—arrived in Charleston, being sent out by Dr. Watts and others, agreeably to the request of the church now known as the CIRCULAR Church. “Jan. 1st, 1741, he was elected pastor by this people, with a salary of £100 sterling and the parsonage,” which office he accepted for the term of four years. His ministry was a short one. He died on the 6th of July, 1742. In the record of his election the church is called the *Brick Presbyterian Church* in Charleston.* Nov. 21st, 1742, Rev. Josiah Smith was elected pastor, with a salary of £800 currency for the first year, and the use of the parsonage, and the servant man, Boston, and £100 sterling thereafter.

During these years, and for some time after, the South Carolina Gazette is filled with attacks upon Mr. Whitefield, and rejoinders in his defence. They were generally under fictitious signatures. Probably many of them on the one side were by the commissary and his intimate friends, and on the other by Josiah Smith, the devoted friend of Whitefield and a champion in his favor. A year and a day had been allowed by Commissary Garden for Whitefield to prosecute his appeal. He had addressed the Bishop of London on the subject, especially to know whether the commissary “had any judicial authority against him, or any other clergyman, who did not belong to his province.” The bishop appears to have paid no attention to the inquiry. Garden was resolved to proceed as if no appeal had been made, he having received no orders from the superior court whatever. He pronounced his final decree, after reciting the circumstances, in the words following:—

“Therefore We, Alexander Garden, the Judge aforesaid, having invoked the name of Christ, and setting and having God himself alone before our eyes, and by and with the advice of the Rev. persons, William Guy, Timothy Mellichamp, Stephen Roe, and William Orr, with whom in part we have advised and maturely deliberated, Do Pronounce, Decree, and Declare the

of preface, Feb. 11, 1760. Part II., relating to Mrs. Hutson, is prefaced by J. J. Zubly and J. Edwards, and dated Jan. 31, 1759. The former part was collected, and forwarded to Dennis de Berdt, merchant in London, by Rev. William Hutson; American reprint: Boston, 1809, pp. 165, 12mo.

See Whitefield's Journal, where a letter from Hugh Bryan, giving an account of her death, is copied.

* MS. Records of the Circular Church.

In Mr. Peronneau's will, who bequeathed to the church £1500, in 1740, it is called the Independent Church; in 1742, the Brick Presbyterian Church; in 1745, in the will of James Matthews, who bequeathed £200, it is called “the Congregation of Christian Dissenters, to whom the Northernmost Brick Meeting-house belongs.”

aforesaid George Whitefield to have been, at the times articted, and now, to be a Priest of the Church of England, and at the times and days in that part articted, to have officiated as a Minister in diverse Meeting-houses in Charles-Town, in the Province of South Carolina, by praying and preaching to public congregations, and at such times to have omitted the form of prayer prescribed in the Communion Book, or Book of Common Prayer; or at least, according to the laws, canons, and constitutions ecclesiastical in that part made, provided, and promulged, not to have used the same according to the lawful proofs before us in that part judicially had and made.

"We therefore pronounce, decree, and declare, that the said George Whitefield, for his excesses and faults, ought duly and canonically, and according to the exigency of the law in that part of the premises, to be corrected and punished, and also to be suspended from his Office; and accordingly by These Presents, we do suspend him, the said George Whitefield; and for so suspended, we also Pronounce, Decree, and Declare him to be Denounced, Declared, and Published openly and publickly in the face of the Church."

This suspension from the ministry was based upon his omitting to use the Common Prayer, which he did use whenever he could obtain admission to Episcopal churches. It was "for not reading the Common Prayer," says he, in his letter to the Bishop of London, "in the meeting-house, which I was obliged to preach in at Charlestown (unless I would be silent), because the commissary would not let me have the use of his church." For Whitefield to have used the Common Prayer in congregations where they were unused to it and where there were no books, would have been simply ridiculous, and would have prejudiced the people against him and his message.—(Ramsay, ii. 12, 13, 14; Dalcho, 120 et seq.; S. C. Gazette, Jan. 22, 1742.)

A circumstance occurred about this time which was much circulated at the north, when Davenport in Connecticut was giving way to the wildest fanaticism. Mr. Hugh Bryan had enlisted earnestly, at the suggestion of Whitefield, in the religious instruction of the negroes, and, as we have seen, "the young stage-player was to be their first teacher." His zeal carried him at last beyond all bounds. His imagination became greatly excited and diseased. He is reported to have sent twenty closely-written sheets of his journal, containing predictions and the like, to the speaker of the Commons House of the province. (The journals published by Mr. Hutson contain no such things, but only the exercises of a soul under the stirrings of divine grace. It was said that he was encamped in the woods, gathering multitudes of people around him, especially negroes; and that he had procured fire-arms to be sent from Charleston for some dangerous purpose. This matter was brought to the notice of the public by a presentment of the grand jury, charging him with uttering enthu-

siastic prophecies of the "destruction of Charles-Town, and of assembling great bodies of negroes under pretence of religious worship, contrary to law," and detrimental to the public peace.—(MS. Journal of Commons House, 1742-1743, p. 174.) A warrant was issued for his apprehension. Before it could be served he had discovered his delusion. He addressed a letter to the speaker, Mr. Bull, and to the members of the Commons House, confessing his errors, and asking pardon. This letter bears date March 1st, 1742. "It is with shame," he says, "intermixed with joy, that I write you this. I find that I have presumed, in my zeal for God's glory, beyond his will, and that he has suffered me to fall into a delusion of Satan,—particularly in adhering to the impressions on my mind, though not to my knowledge, in my reflections and other occurrences of my journal. This delusion I did not discover till three days past, when, after many days' converse with an invisible spirit, whose precepts seemed to me to be wise, and tending to the advancement of religion in general, and of my own spiritual welfare in particular, I found my teacher to be a liar, and the father of lies; which brought me to a sense of my error, and has much abased my soul with bitter reflections on the dishonor I have done to God, as well as the disquiet which I may have occasioned my country. Satan till then appeared to me as an angel of light in his spiritual conversation; but since I have discovered his wiles, he has appeared a devil indeed, showing his rage." He denies that he had furnished arms, or was engaged in anything treasonable. He adds the following postscript:—"May we all keep close to the law and to the testimony of our God, and hearken to no other revelation of divine truth, and watch and pray, that we enter not into temptation, is a further prayer of your most unworthy servant, H. Bryan." This was published by order of the Commons House of Assembly, passed March 3d, 1742.—(S. C. Gazette, March, 1742, Charleston Library.) It is republished in the Boston Post-Boy with additional statements, on the authority of his brother, as to the way by which he was undeceived. "The invisible spirit bade him go, by a direct course, and without looking on the ground, to a certain tree, and take thence a rod, with which he must smite the waters of the river, and they should be divided, so that he should go over on dry ground. He started to obey; and after several falls from not looking on the ground, found the tree and procured the rod." With this he began to smite the river, and press forward towards the further bank, till he was up to his chin in water; and his

brother, who had followed him as fast as he could, but just saved him from drowning. His brother then urged him to go home, but the spirit assured him that if he should go home that night he would be a dead man before morning. However, the sharp weather and his wet jacket at length prevailed. He went home, and finding himself alive in the morning, concluded that the spirit, which had lied to him twice, must be the "father of lies."—(New England Postboy, No. cccviii., Mond., May 3, 1742, Mass. Hist. Soc. Liby.; a Letter from a gentleman in N. Eng. to his friend in Glasgow, on "The State of Religion in N. England since the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield's arrival there," Old South Ch. Liby. The same is found in Tracy's "Great Awakening," pp. 240, 241, from which the preceding facts are directly taken, although the original authorities have been examined.)

This conduct of Hugh Bryan exhibits a singular mixture of religious zeal, and either mental infirmity or temporary insanity. It may be that he was right in ascribing it all to the access to his mind of an evil spirit, whose mysterious agency is real, but was never yet defined by the Scriptures, human experience, or philosophy. It is very like the extravagances of Davenport in Connecticut about the same time, whose progress the legislature of that province put forth its power to arrest. It must have acted as a caution to the extravagances to which the human mind was then prone, and been a triumph to the enemies of Whitefield, and of evangelical religion. Yet Mr. Bryan seems not to have lost the confidence of men of judgment and piety. He saw his error, and almost madness, quickly, and his subsequent life showed him to be a true servant of God, and probably this "catastrophe" was serviceable to him as well as to others.

Great attention seemed at this time to have been awakened in behalf of the religious instruction of the negroes. A letter was published in England addressed to the converted negroes of Jonathan Bryan in South Carolina.* April 17th, Rev.

* A Letter to the Negroes lately converted in America, and particularly those, lately called out of darkness into God's marvellous light, at Mr. Jonathan Bryan's in South Carolina. A welcome to the believing negroes into the household of God. By a friend and servant of theirs in England. Eph. ii. 9, "Not of works, lest any man should boast." Col. iii. 11, "Where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all and in all."—London, J. Hart, 1743, pp. 32, 8vo. This warm and fervent appeal is in the Old South Library, Boston, No. 530. Whitefield probably gave the information. "I

James Parker and Josiah Smith publish and enforce the Bishop of London's recommendation as to the instruction of negroes, and although it was excepted to by a writer, April 24th, it seems not to have been without effect. In 1743 the Society for Propagating Religion in Foreign Parts fell upon the plan of purchasing young negroes, instructing them, and sending them forth to teach other negroes and Indian slaves. Two had been purchased some fifteen months since, and preparations for their being put under a course of instruction were nearly completed. Alexander Garden proposed to erect a school-house on the glebe land in Charleston, near the parsonage, for the negro school of Charleston. £400 was the sum he thought necessary for this, which he invites the citizens to contribute. The commissary intended to employ both the negro youths to teach in this school, until their services should be needed in the country parishes. In consequence of this information, the society sent out a large quantity of Bibles, Testaments, Prayer-books, and Spelling-books. In 1744 upwards of sixty children were instructed in it daily; eighteen of whom read in the Testament well, twenty in the Psalter, and the rest were in the Spelling-book.—(S. C. Gazette, March 14th, 1743; Dalcho, pp. 156, 157.)

The philanthropists of that day differed in some of their opinions from those of ours. Whitefield plead strenuously with the trustees of Georgia for the introduction of rum and negro slaves. Rum was granted first; slaves were not introduced by authority before 1749. Whitefield purchased a plantation and negroes in Carolina in 1747. Through his exertions and those of Mr. Habersham chiefly, the trustees were induced to allow of their introduction into Georgia.

The Spaniards invaded Georgia with a fleet of thirty-seven sail of vessels and galleys. South Carolina sympathized with her sister colony and observed a fast, July 25th, 1742, in deprecation of the threatened danger. Mr. Habersham, in Whitefield's absence in England, moved the family at Bethesda, then consisting of eighty-five or eighty-six persons, to Mr. Bull's and Jonathan Bryan's plantations in South Carolina, where they remained till the Spaniards retired.

The next year brings us to the organization of THE INDEPENDENT PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH of STONEY CREEK in PRINCE WILLIAM'S PARISH.

am informed that twelve negroes belonging to a planter converted at the Orphan House, are savingly brought home to Christ."—Letters of Feb. 23d and March 4th, 1742.

The "young stage-player convinced when Whitefield was in New York," p. 240, who was to be "the first teacher" of Mr. Bryan's negroes, whom he afterwards said "he designed for the ministry," was Mr. William Hutson, then a young man of twenty-one years of age. "He was born in England August 14th, 1720, and entered on the study of law at the Inns of Court, London. To this profession he had a great repugnance, but his father remaining firm to the purpose he had throughout his education, he deserted the parental roof and came to America. He soon expended what little means he had, for he brought little with him but his mother's picture. As a means of supporting himself he joined a strolling company of players. The statement of Whitefield makes the scene of this engagement to be New York, but the traditions of one branch of the family represent it as being in Charleston, and still another in London itself." It was publicly announced that he would appear on the stage on an appointed night, as a member of this company, in a character which had been assigned him. Mr. Whitefield was to preach on the evening preceding Mr. Hutson's debüt on the stage. Mr. Hutson went to hear him an unconverted man with an inclination to *scoff*, rather than to profit, but remained to pray! Anxious and perplexed in relation to his engagement with the players, he called the next morning on Whitefield, told him of the change that had been wrought in him, informed him of the obligation he was under to appear on the stage, declared his great reluctance to do so, and asked his advice and counsel. Mr. Whitefield advised that as he had entered into an engagement with the company, which had been announced to the public, he should comply with it, perform his part, and afterwards leave the stage. He accordingly appeared at the appointed time, but his feelings were so painfully excited that he utterly failed in the performance of his part. Relinquishing his connection with the company, he became destitute of the means of support. In this state of destitution, whilst he was strolling about the bay of Charleston, he attracted the observation of Mr. Hugh Bryan, who was just then leaving the city on his way home. Mr. Bryan remarking that Mr. Hutson was attired in the faded garb of a gentleman, and conjecturing that he was a stranger and in need, accosted him and inquired into his condition and circumstances. Having ascertained that he was of respectable condition, in distress, without employment, and well educated, he proposed to Mr. Hutson to accompany him to his resi-

dence, and to assume the office of tutor in his family. Mr. Hutson agreed to do so, and became an inmate of the family of Mr. Bryan.

How long Mr. Hutson continued in Mr. Bryan's family cannot be ascertained; nor is it known when and where he pursued the study of theology; but it appears that he commenced to exercise the ministerial office in the year 1743, when he was about twenty-three years old, and continued to discharge its duties during eighteen years, until his death. "He first preached," says Ramsay, "as a licentiate at the orphan-house in Georgia, where his first sermon was delivered."—(MS. Letter of Henry W. Perroneau, Esq., Apr. 8, 1853.)

The record of the ordination of Mr. Hutson, which to the writer of the preceding extract was unknown, is found in the Book of the Stoney Creek Church, established in what was then called "The Indian Land," in the vicinity of Pocotaligo. We are indebted chiefly to the labors of Mr. Whitefield, under Christ, for the existence of this church. A call was extended to Mr. Hutson to become their pastor, which is signed by Hugh Bryan, Jonathan Bryan, Stephen Bull, Jr., William Gillbart, Robert Ogle, James Rowlain, and Jos. Bryan, bearing date May 20th, 1743.

The record proceeds to state that, "in obedience to this call Mr. William Hutson was ordained by the Rev. Mr. Josiah Smith and Mr. John Osgood, after a sermon preached by Mr. John Osgood from Hebrews the 13th chapter and 17th verse." On the 8th of June, 1743, "a day set apart by the church for fasting and prayer, to settle matters about and to organize the church," a solemn covenant and articles of faith, "which is the nerve and substance of the faith of the church," were adopted. The covenant was signed by William Hutson as pastor, by Hugh and Jonathan Bryan as deacons, and the same names as before, with the addition of William Kennady. The church is entitled "The Stoney Creek Independent Presbyterian Church." The Confession of Faith is well drawn up, and clearly and consistently on the doctrinal basis of the Westminster Confession. It varies from it on the subject of the church as to the independence of particular churches, maintaining this independence, "and that no one church hath any priority or superintendency above or over another, and that every church ought to be organical; that an elder or elders, a deacon or deacons, ought to be elected in every congregation, according to those holy qualifications laid down in the word of God, and that the said elders and deacons so

chosen ought solemnly to be ordained with prayer and laying on the hand of the eldership. That such churches as have not officers so ordained are disorderly ; there being something yet wanting." It declares their belief that "a true church is not national or parochial."—(MS. Confession, Art. 24.) The church at Stoney Creek seems to have been formed, as to government, upon the scheme advocated by John Owen. These documents probably proceeded from the pen of Mr. Hutson ; and if so, though we differ in principle from the form of government, they do him great credit as a man of ability and judgment.

CHAPTER II.

IN the same year 1743, the German and Swiss settlers of Orangeburg were interfered with in their religious worship by an attempt made by Rev. Bartholomew Zauberbuhler to oust their pastor, John Giessendanner. Mr. Zauberbuhler was himself a native of the canton of either St. Gall or Appenzel, one of the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, and was therefore in his own country an adherent of the Helvetic Confession, setting forth the doctrines of the Reformation as proclaimed by Zuingli, Bullinger, and Calvin. He had been engaged in the settlement of a colony of Swiss Protestants in the newly-constituted township of New Windsor, opposite Augusta. He had resolved to seek Episcopal ordination, and had petitioned council that he might be sent to preach to the Germans in Orangeburg and on the Santee, and that he might receive a competent salary till such time as he could be consecrated by the Bishop of London, after which he proposed to visit Germany and to bring over others of his countrymen, "it being a great encouragement to them to know that they may have the gospel not only on their passage, but after their arrival." Council grants him £500 out of the township fund, provided he could obtain Commissary Garden's certificate of his qualifications for ordination. Armed now with a supposed authority from Governor Bull and Commissary Garden, he came into the pastoral charge of Giessendanner, and sought to expel him and occupy his place. A petition signed by about fourscore of the inhabitants of Orangeburg is spread out on the journals of the governor and council, detailing the facts,

and praying for redress. Mr. Zauberbuhler was summoned by the governor, reprimanded for his interference, and curtailed of half the salary allowed him, unless he should bring over the foreign Protestants as he had stipulated. The petition is an interesting historic document, apologetic that their pastor is not *rectus in ecclesia*, according to the established religion of the province. It states that Mr. Giessendanner had been introduced in Charleston "to an Assembly of Presbytery, who, upon examination, furnished him with orders to preach;" that he hath done this in Dutch (German) constantly for the space of five years, to the inexpressible satisfaction of the congregation at Orangeburg; that "two years ago, the petitioners being full sixty miles from any other place of worship, some of whom had not been favored with a sermon for seven years, observing said Mr. John Giessendanner to be a man of learning, piety, and knowledge in the Holy Scriptures, prevailed on him to officiate in English every fortnight, which he hath since performed very articulate and intelligible, to the entire satisfaction of the English petitioners, and always behaves himself with sobriety, honesty, and justice, encouraging virtue and reproofing vice." —(MS. Records of Gov. and Council, March 6th, 1743, State Archives, Columbia.) This document reveals to us the existence and action of the Presbytery in Charleston in 1738, and is of interest otherwise. Mr. Giessendanner continued his ministry some time longer, until, to meet the state of things in this new country, he went to London in 1749, received Episcopal ordination, and returned in 1750 as a minister of the Episcopal church. His labors, both before and after this period, seem to have been assiduous, and his record of baptisms, marriages, and burials, yet preserved, shows that they extended over a wide tract in the central portion of South Carolina. It is one among numerous other proofs of the absorbing nature of an ecclesiastical system established by law over a people the majority of whom are dissenters from it. Most of these settlers were probably Lutherans, but a portion must have been brought up under the Helvetic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism, and in their own land professed the Reformed or Calvinistic faith.

Of the churches strictly Presbyterian we are able to say but little during the period of which we speak. The church in Charleston, commonly called "the Scotch Church," which had been served by Hugh Stewart, seems to have obtained another minister early in this period. The Rev. Mr. Grant may have been Mr. Stewart's immediate successor. His name

occurs in the South Carolina Gazette in connection with a notice of his marriage. "Aug. 26, 1745—Rev. Mr. Grant of the Scots Kirk in this town, was married to Miss Elizabeth Martin, a handsome young lady with a pretty fortune." The Gazette seems to have dealt in personal notices more than is usual in our own day. In the Gazette of Nov. 11 of the same year, we have the following: "Last Friday night, Rev. Mr. Whitefield, and madam his spouse, arrived in town from the northward. On Sunday he preached twice in Mr. Smith's meeting, and early on Monday morning set out for the orphan-house in Georgia."

Another name follows that of Mr. Grant very closely in the public Gazette, our only source of information. In the year 1747 mention is made of the death of Rev. Thomas Kennedy, of the Scots meeting, and certain lines occasioned by that event are found under date of Aug. 31, 1747.

The Presbyterian Church at WILTON was supplied by Mr. Stobo, as we have seen, till his death, which probably occurred early in 1741. The town was then at the height of its prosperity, containing about eighty houses, and was sometimes called New London. On the 6th of April, 1746, a blank call was drawn up and subscribed, "to be forwarded through the Presbytery of South Carolina to Philadelphia." The result is unknown. Previous to the year 1747 the Rev. Mr. Ross seems to have been the pastor for some time, and to have died while serving the church. In that year an arrearage, or a donation, was paid to his widow, amounting to £193 15s. The church was next supplied by Rev. Mr. McLeod to the 15th of June, 1748, for which he was paid £200. In July, 1749, £25 was paid to Rev. Mr. Rae, of Williamsburg, "for coming and preaching two sermons." The Rev. Mr. Stewart, the pastor of Bethel, Pon Pon, must also have served this church as a supply for some time before his death, since his widow was paid £200 on Nov. 1, 1749, "for his supplying Wiltown congregation."

The Presbyterian church on EDISTO ISLAND had for its pastor, from 1741, the Rev. John McLeod. Mr. McLeod's first engagement in the ministry was at Darien, Georgia. The trustees of Georgia being desirous of introducing into their colony a more thrifty class of people than the first emigrants were, invited one hundred Germans, under Baron von Reck, from the city of Ratisbon, and, through Lieut. Hugh McKay, agreed with one hundred and ten freemen and servants, to whom were allowed fifty women and children, from Scotland, as colonists.

These last were collected in the vicinity of Inverness, were men of good character, and selected for their military qualities. They were picked men from the glen of Strathlean, and were commanded by officers of high standing in the Highlands of Scotland, some of whose descendants still hold offices of honor and trust under the British government. In their political sympathies they leaned towards the claims of the Pretender, and had become committed in the rising of 1715. They were quite willing to expatriate themselves, and seek their fortunes in the wilds of America. The McKays, the Dunbars, the Bailies, and the Cuthberts applied also for large tracts of land to people with their own retainers, most of them going over to Georgia and settling there themselves. They reached our sister colony in January, 1736, and built a village on the north side of the Altamaha, which they called New Inverness, and gave the name of Darien to the district around, in commemoration of the attempt made by the Scotch to found a colony on the Isthmus of Darien in the close of the preceding century. They were hardy, adventurous men, inured to fatigue and labor, and accustomed to martial discipline. These people desired to have the privileges of the gospel in their new home, to have a Presbyterian minister who should preach to them in the Gaelic, and teach and catechise the children in English. The Scotch Society for Propagating Religious Knowledge being applied to, sent out Mr. John McLeod of the Isle of Skye, who was ordained with a stipulated salary of £50 sterling. He was of the Dunnegan family (McLeod of McLeod), and highly recommended by his brother-clergymen. He was "to officiate as minister of the gospel to the Highland families and others, and to use his utmost endeavors also for propagating Christian knowledge among Indian natives in the colony." Oglethorpe showed him much kindness, and promised to build him a plain house of worship until he could put up one more substantial. In his letter to the society, November 25th, 1741, he describes the deplorable condition of New Inverness by the loss of so large a number of the inhabitants at the massacre of Fort Moosa, those "who remain being so situated that the enemy can come upon them to their bedside." Discouraged by these events, Mr. McLeod left the colony of Georgia and became pastor of the church of Edisto Island.—(Brown's Missions, ii., 480; Stevens' History of Georgia, i., 128, 342.)

Of the Presbyterian church on JAMES ISLAND we have no information pertaining to this period. In the absence of any

records of the church or the presbytery, we are not able to discover the succession of its ministry. The Presbyterian church on JOHN'S ISLAND is involved in the same obscurity, though it is supposed that its pastor was the Rev. Thomas Murray. Whitefield preached and read prayers there at the time he was arraigned by Commissary Garden.

Of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH of WILLIAMSBURG there is a fragment of a MS. record of twenty-two pages folio, and four of a more modern date, purporting to be "A Register of the Proceedings of the Church Session of the Presbyterian Church of Williamsburg, So. Car., commencing Anno 1743." "A Register of Baptisms and Marriages" accompanies it, the baptisms commencing in 1729, the marriages in 1743, of 36 pp. fol. The first baptism recorded is in March, 1729. "George Nelson w^t his wife Helen had a son baptized named Matthew." This we take to be an *ex post facto* record made simply to perpetuate family history, otherwise we must give an earlier date to the Williamsburg church than we have supposed. Its first pastor, Robert Heron, returned to Ireland in 1740 or 1741. It received its second pastor, the Rev. John Rae, in March, 1743. He had been ordained minister of the gospel by the presbytery of Dundee, to take charge of this church in consequence of a blank call sent by the representatives of the congregation with recommendatory letters from the presbytery of South Carolina to said presbytery of Dundee, to be filled up by the name of one they should choose. Mr. Rae arrived in the province about the latter end of April, 1743, and having made application to some members of presbytery to whom he submitted his credentials, they advised him to take charge of the congregation until the presbytery of South Carolina should meet at their ordinary time in November. This he did. At the meeting of presbytery in the city of Charleston, in November, they received his credentials and appointed his installation on the first Thursday of March, 1743-44. Mr. Rae commenced his ministry in strict accordance with the usage of the Church of Scotland. The next record is on Sabbath, November 3d, 1743. "The minister appointed dyets of visitation of families and examination agreeable to the Constitution and Discipline of the Church of Scotland, and intimated from the pulpit his desire to the several heads of families that they would look out for some persons among them that might be fit to be ordained Elders, and give him notice of them against the first Sabbath of February next ensuing." The register proceeds: "The heads of families in the Cong"

having consulted, did nominate the following persons as fit according to y^r apprehension to be chosen Elders. David Allan, Wm. James, David Wilson, and Rodger Gibson. And John James, having been an elder in Ireland in a Presbyterian Congⁿ, to be continued." "The s^d day he did appoint dyets of Examination for Communicants." On the 19th of February, 1744, "the Rev^d Samuel Hunter, min^r of the Gospel at Black River preached here and serv^d the Rev^d John Rae's Edict for Instalⁿ according to appointment of presbytery." "March 1st, Thursday, the Rev^d Messrs. Samuel Hunter and John Baxter, members of Pby., having met here according to appointm^t; the Rev^d Jn^o Baxter preached from Heb. xiii. 17, and yⁿ after install^d the Rev^d John Rae w^t the unanimous consent of the whole congregation." July 18th, 1744, was observed as a day of humiliation and fasting on account of the war with Spain. The entire records of this period show that everything in this church was transacted with all the regularity and strictness which belongs to the Scotch discipline in its purest form.

During the winter of 1749-50, a fatal epidemic ravaged the country, called the "Great Mortality," the exact character of which is not known; but it is supposed to have been a violent type of influenza. By it eighty persons of the township died, not a few of whom were heads of families and prominent men of the colony. Three of these were original elders of the church: John Fleming, William James, and David Witherspoon. —(MS. Hist. of the Williamsburg Ch., by John R. Witherspoon, M. D.,

BLACK MINGO.—It is evident from the preceding extract that Rev. Samuel Hunter was both a member of the presbytery in 1744, and minister on Black River. Mr. Baxter had also preached one Sabbath on Black River previous to that time. Mr. Hunter came into the province about the year 1734 or 1735. Mr. McPherson says his church was near what is now known as Brown's Upper Rope Ferry, on Black River. Other local traditions say the place of his preaching was on Black Mingo Creek, where the foundations of an old Presbyterian church are still to be seen. The site is marked on Mill's Atlas of 1825. Both traditions coincide, as the site is but a few miles above the junction of Black Mingo Creek with Black River.

The PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AT CAINHOY was served by Rev. John Baxter as its pastor. His register of texts shows that from 1733 to 1744, the date of Mr. Rae's installment at Williamsburg, he had been constantly officiating at Cainhoy, with

a few occasional absences. It is most probable that this is the church which Ramsay (Hist., ii., 25) calls "the congregation of St. Thomas," which he says was formerly connected with the presbytery. Mr. Baxter was succeeded at Cainhoy by Rev. John Joachim Zubly, a native of St. Gall in Switzerland, who is believed to have taken charge of this church in 1748.

The church of Bethel, Pon Pon, prospered during this period. The "sederunts" of the session were numerous. On the 31st of March, 1740, Moses Martin and William Crole were chosen ruling elders, and Thomas Andrew, William Oswald, and James Donnum, deacons. On the 10th of December, John Mitchell was appointed "ruling elder to attend with the minister on presbytery for the ensuing year," vice Thomas Buer, deceased. Their faithfulness in official duty may be judged of by the following minute:—"April 7th, 1742. Sederunt, Ministers and Ruling Elders. The Congregation they divide into five parts to the more particular inspection of the Elders and Deacons; viz., From Moses Martin's to the Widow Singleton's to be inspected by Isaac Hayne, Elder, Robert Oswald, Deacon; From Thomas Melvin's to Hugh Campbell's, by William Melvin, Elder, and Thomas Andrew, Deacon; From Mr. Stewart's to the Horse Shoe, by John Mitchell, Elder, and Joseph Mitchell, Deacon; From Pon Pon Bridge" (where Jacksonborough Ferry now is) "to Ashepoo, by John Andrew, Elder, and William Oswald, Deacon." On the 3d of December measures were taken to procure land to build a new meeting-house, and Mr. Robert Oswald was directed "to enquire for the distressed in Charles Town and apply the contribution of this congregation accordingly."

During the same year £1,207 were subscribed for increasing the number of slaves belonging to the congregation. These slaves were hired out, and the proceeds of their labor or hire applied to the payment of the pastor's salary, which, from 1743, was £600 currency. From 1746 to 1748 the Rev. Mr. Stewart, the pastor, proposed to receive the labor of these slaves upon his own plantation, with the interest of £500 (Kermicle's legacy), in lieu of the £600, which was assented to. The new meeting-house was finished and occupied as early as March 31st, 1746. The subscriptions amounted to £2,228, and were made by one hundred different persons, all of whom, with but two exceptions, were males. The sound of the church bell, which was but a small one, and is the same which is now (1846) at the church in Walterborough, could be heard by upwards of sixty families, so populous at that time

was a region which in the year 1846 contained but a dozen families within the circuit of three miles, including the once populous town of Jacksonborough. On the second Sabbath of February, 1746, Mr. James Donnam was chosen ruling elder, and William Gwin deacon, who were ordained to these offices on the 15th of March, 1747; Mr. Donnam was appointed ruling elder to attend presbytery with the minister for the ensuing year. In [exact date not known] Rev. Mr. Stewart departed this life, deeply regretted. On July 30th, 1748, the session appropriated £350 to his widow for the last six months of his life. A letter too was addressed to Rev. Mr. Rae, moderator of the presbytery of South Carolina, requesting supplies or an early meeting of presbytery, to give them an opportunity of forwarding a call. This letter, written by Isaac Hayne, earnestly deplores the evils which must come upon them if left destitute of a preached gospel, and bears date August 8th, 1748. On the 8th of September, 1748, the congregation made out a blank call for a minister, which was to be forwarded through the presbytery of South Carolina to the presbytery of Edinburgh, and was signed by John Mitchell, Junior, and others, sixty in number.

“November 23d, 1748. Sederunt Elders and Deacons—They voted a Salary of Seven hundred pounds cur^y per Annum, including the interest of Kermicle's Legacy, to a Minister who shall come and take upon him the charge of this Congregation and be their Minister. He is also to have the use of the Parsonage House, land, etc. Mr. Rob^t Oswald hires the Congregation's Slaves for 40 Bbls. Merchantable Rice, 500 N^{lt} W^{lt}, to be delivered at Pon Pon Bridge clear of all charges whatsoever, with the bbl. included, he to be at all the charge of s^d Negroes (viz., July, Phillis, Charity, Cyrus, Quarterman, Chloe, June, and Prime, with six children), to continue three years from the first of July next.”

The services of the HUGUENOT CHURCH in CHARLESTON were still kept up under the ministry of the Rev^d Francis Guichard. Their house of worship had been destroyed at the beginning of this decade, but this did not destroy their organization, and probably only temporarily interrupted their worship.

Such are the few notices which we have been able to collect of the strictly Presbyterian churches in South Carolina during this period. In what way they stood affected to the great event of the time, the awakening of the churches out of their religious torpor, in which Whitefield and the Wesleys, Jonathan

Edwards and the Tennents, took so conspicuous a part, we are unable to say. Probably their views were for the most part represented by the Old Side Presbyterian party in America, and by those who in Scotland stood aloof from Whitefield and his measures. We have no right to say this with certainty, but it is in some degree significant that none of the Presbyterian ministers of this period are named in connection with Whitefield. Not all the Presbyterians received him kindly. Writing from Maryland, November 24th, 1740, he says, "Here is close opposition from some of the Presbyterian clergy." In England the Episcopal clergy shunned him. "In my zeal, during my journey through America, I had written two well-meant, though injudicious letters, against England's two great favorites, *The Whole Duty of Man*, and Archbishop Tillotson, who I said knew no more of religion than Mahomet." "They are so embittered by my injudicious and too severe expressions, that they fly from me as from a viper." In New England he was opposed by many. Several associations and the faculty of Harvard College bore their testimony against him. He had said of Yale College and Harvard—"As for the universities, I believe it may be said their light is now become darkness, darkness that may be felt," and this could not be forgiven. In Scotland he was received as he everywhere was, in a different spirit by different persons. Mr. Willison of Dundee, whom the Williamsburg people in South Carolina sought as their first minister, testifies to his worth and labors. "It is a truly rare thing, to see so much of God in any one man." "This worthy youth is singularly fitted to do the work of an Evangelist; and I have been long of opinion that it would be for the advantage of the world were this still to be a standing office in the churches." Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine had repeatedly invited him to Scotland, and he preached his first sermon in Scotland in Ralph Erskine's pulpit at Dunfermline, to the great delight of the people. His brethren of the Associate Presbytery, however, were not satisfied. "I met most of them, according to appointment," says Whitefield to his friend Noble of New York, "on Wednesday last. A set of grave, venerable men! They soon proposed to form themselves into a presbytery, and were proceeding to choose a moderator. I asked them for what purpose? They answered to discourse and set me right about the matter of church government, and the solemn league and covenant. I replied, they might save themselves the trouble, for I had no scruples about it; and that settling church government and preaching about the solemn league and cove-

nant was not my plan." "I told them I had never made the solemn league and covenant the object of my study, being busy about matters, as I judged, of greater importance. Several replied that every pin of the tabernacle was precious. I said that in every building there were outside and inside workmen: that the latter at present was my province." "I then asked them seriously, what they would have me do; the answer was, that I was not desired to subscribe immediately to the solemn league and covenant, but to preach only for them till I had further light. I asked, why only for them? Mr. Ralph Erskine said, 'they were the Lord's people.' I then asked whether there were no other Lord's people but themselves, and supposing all the others were the devil's people, they certainly had more need to be preached to, and therefore I was more and more determined to go out into the highways and hedges; and that if the Pope himself would lend me his pulpit, I would gladly proclaim the righteousness of Jesus Christ therein."—(Letter CCCXXXIX.)

This playful letter of Whitefield has often been quoted to the disparagement of the seceders, yet he wrote it with sorrow in his heart, as other contemporary letters show. On Whitefield's return to Scotland, Adam Gib, a prominent seceding minister, signalized himself by publishing a bitter pamphlet, "A warning against countenancing his ministrations." This, however, did not prevent his great success in Scotland. At Cambuslang he preached to twenty thousand and to thirty thousand people, with the most wonderful results. Still some prejudiced ones were perpetually exclaiming against the work, affirming that "the wark at Cambuslang was the wark of the devil." The seceders went so far as to proclaim a fast on account of his doings. "Mr. Erskine's people have kept a fast for me, and give out that all the work now in Scotland is only delusion, and by the agency of the devil."—(Letter CCCXLVII.) "The dear Messrs. Erskine have dressed me in very black colors. Dear me; I pity them."—(Letter CCCCLXI.)

These things were spread out in the Gazette in Charleston, beginning with the year 1741 and extending to the year 1747, so that it would have been almost a miracle if different opinions had not prevailed as to the man and his labors. There were examples too of great censoriousness and intemperance among Whitefield's friends in this country. In 1741 the celebrated "Nottingham Sermon" of Gilbert Tennent was preached, affirmed by Dr. Alexander to be "one of the most severely abusive sermons that was ever penned," the subject

being "The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry;" and the schism which divided the American Presbyterian church, and which continued for seventeen years, took place. Whitefield favored the measures of the Tennents. In the letter to Noble, above quoted, he says, "I rejoice to hear that the work of the Lord prospers in the hands of Messrs. Tennents, &c., am glad they intend to meet in a synod by themselves. Their catholic spirit will do good." Then follows what he said of the Associate Presbytery of Scotland. This schism commenced in 1741, when nine ministers were excluded from the synod of Philadelphia, and was consummated in 1745, when the synod of New York was formed, which represented "the New Side," while the synod of Philadelphia represented "the Old Side."

The friend of Whitefield, the Rev. Josiah Smith, met with a severe affliction in the year 1749, from a stroke of the palsy, from which he never recovered so as to articulate distinctly. He still delighted in the work of the ministry. He continued to compose and print sermons; and so great did he regard the privilege of preaching the gospel, that he begged that he might be permitted to deliver a sermon once a month in the church of which he had been the pastor. This was granted, and he was listened to patiently, though his organs of speech were so affected that his hearers understood but little of what he strove to utter. It was probably during this year that the celebrated John Newton, then engaged in the slave-trade, arrived in Charleston, with a cargo, probably of slaves from Africa, he being at that time mate of the vessel, and having encountered many perils in securing them in a land where he had once himself been a captive and a servant.

The letter which details the facts was written long subsequently, January 22d, 1763; but the circumstances occurred in 1748-9. "Dear Sir: A few days after I was thus delivered from an unseen danger, we sailed for Antigua, and from thence to Charlestown, South Carolina. In this place there are many serious people, but I knew not where to find them out; indeed, I was not aware of a difference, but supposed that all who attended public worship were good Christians. I was as much in the dark about preaching, not doubting but whatever came from the pulpit must be very good. I had two or three opportunities of hearing a dissenting minister, named Smith, who, by what I have known since, I believe to have been an excellent and powerful preacher of the gospel; and there was something in his manner that struck me, but I did not rightly understand him. The best words that

men can speak are ineffectual till explained and applied by the Spirit of God, who alone can open the heart. It pleased the Lord for some time, that I should learn no more than what he enabled me to collect from my own experience and reflection. My conduct was now very inconsistent. Almost every day, when business would permit, I used to retire into the woods and fields (for these, when at hand, have always been my favorite oratories), and I trust I began to taste the sweets of communion," &c.

Those who are familiar with John Newton's life, will remember how these prayers, offered in the woods of South Carolina, did their part towards preparing this wild and reckless sea captain to become a minister of the blessed gospel in London, one of our Lord's chosen ones, whose hymns we so often sing in our social worship, and who contributed so much to the advancement of experimental religion, in the century which is past.

Mr. Samuel Fayerweather, a licentiate from New England, had been employed in 1748 for a year to assist Mr. Smith, and had been re-engaged for the ensuing year. On the 9th of April, 1749, he was elected co-pastor by a majority of the voters of Mr. Smith's congregation, and he signified his acceptance on the 22d day of October. But a majority of the members of the church in full communion objected to the settlement. He therefore left the province at the end of the year, but in 1757, which was marked throughout with unpleasant dissensions, returned as a clergyman of the Episcopal church, and missionary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, having been ordained in England, and received the degree of A. M. from the University of Oxford. He remained in charge of the church of Prince George, Winyaw, till 1760, when he was removed by the society to Narragansett.—(Dalcho, 307.)

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BOOK NINTH.

1750-1760.

CHAPTER I.

THE settlement of the central and upper portions of the province had now commenced and was rapidly advancing.

Richland began to be occupied by herdsmen in 1740, and soon after by German emigrants, at the junction of Little river and Cane and Kinsler's creeks with Broad river; Fairfield and Lancaster by Presbyterians, from Pennsylvania and Virginia, in 1745. Sumter had been occupied by herdsmen. The Nelsons, near the ferry of that name, marked eight or ten hundred calves every spring. The Conyers, Mellets, and Canters were in the eastern part of the district, on the headwaters of Black river and Lynche's creek. The Williamsburg Presbyterians overflowed into this district, following the course of Black river on either side, and in 1750 Samuel and James Bradley settled in the eastern part, in what is now called Salem. The high hills of Santee were reserved for the Scotch, who were exiled after the battle of Culloden in 1745; but they were driven into the Cape Fear by contrary winds, and these lands were granted to Virginians, among whom were Generals Sumter and Richardson. Kershaw was first settled by a colony of Quakers from Ireland, who sat down in 1750 on the spot now occupied by Camden; Darlington from Virginia in 1750; Marion about 1750; Spartanburg between 1750 and 1760, from Virginia, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina; Newbury in 1752; Pendleton in 1755; Marlboro in 1755-6; Laurens in 1755; and Abbeville in 1756. The entire population of South Carolina in 1750 amounted to sixty-four thousand, of whom something less than thirty thousand were whites. In 1751 upwards of sixteen hundred foreign Protestants arrived in the province.—(Holmes, *Annals Univ. Hist.*, XL., 483.) New homes were thus formed here and there, and in great part by a Presbyterian people.

In pursuance of our plan, we will first present what we have been able to gather concerning the older churches in the Low Country.

We have hitherto found it difficult to separate those which were Independent or Congregational in order, from those



which were more strictly Presbyterian. The churches of both organizations were few and their history is greatly interwoven.

Beginning with the INDEPENDENT CHURCH in CHARLESTON, we find that its engagement with Mr. Fayerweather had ceased in the manner before mentioned. Mr. Fayerweather was in South Carolina on the 15th of June, 1750, the South Carolina Gazette containing a correspondence between him and Mr. Jonathan Bryan. On the 4th of April the name of the Rev. Mr. Zubly occurs as having been invited to deliver the Wednesday lecture, and as having declined. The congregation gave Mr. Smith leave of absence a year, continuing his salary, and as his health required some careful attendant, giving him the use of the boy Boston, with leave to take him out of the province. They further request the assistance of Rev. Messrs. Osgood, Zubly, and Hutson in the supply of their pulpit, voting £15 per Sabbath as compensation. On the 1st of March they apply to the Rev. Doctors John Guise, Philip Doddridge, and David Jennings for a minister, having first consulted with their pastor, Rev. Josiah Smith. This letter rehearses the main points of their history, and has been quoted by us on p. 122. In it they allude to the secession from them of their brethren of the Scotch nation some eighteen years before, and add their conviction that "the Presbyterian form of government as exercised in the Church of Scotland is neither practicable in England nor Carolina, where Episcopacy is the only church government established by law."—(MS. Records, i., fol. 96, 97.) Their clear preference for Congregationalism is thus expressed, although experience has shown that Presbyterianism flourishes best in America, and independent of the State. The American Presbyterian church far exceeds in its numbers the mother church of Scotland and Ireland; and is greatly in the ascendant, while Congregationalism is comparatively restricted.

The revered gentlemen to whom they wrote seem never to have answered their letter, and on the 6th of April, 1752, they applied to Mr. Whitefield to send them a minister. He was in Charleston at the time the application was made to him, and sailed from that port to England at that time. He had preached for them on the 27th of March, Mr. Hutson having preached on the 8th (their services now being three weeks apart), and continued to do so daily to crowded audiences until his departure. Mr. Whitefield could not aid them. He seems to have written in their behalf to some one

abroad as early as November 20th, 1751, "and had some close talk with Mr. L——, [Legare? Lamboll?] and several of Mr. S[mith]'s congregation concerning him." "All," says he, "seemed unanimous to give you a call. I need only observe that if God should direct your course to them, you will find a generous, loving people, who will study to make your labors profitable and delightful to you. I doubt not but in the congregation there are many dear children of God. And there will be such an harmony between you and Mr. L——, I hope you will be an happy instrument of promoting peace between all parties, and adding to the church such as shall be saved. Very near you are several pious ministers of other denominations, who will be glad to keep up a Christian correspondence with you, and strengthen your hands."

On December 9th, 1754, Thomas Lamboll informs the society that some of the members had engaged Mr. James Edmonds, then officiating near Cainhoy, as a lecturer for six months. This term was extended to another six months. On the 15th of December, 1754, Mr. Edmonds is continued as their supply, but is requested to apply to the neighboring ministers for ordination. They resolved to elect him as their pastor. The ordination referred to took place late in February, 1755. Mr. Whitefield, writing from Charleston, March 3d, of that year, says, "Through divine goodness we arrived here last Wednesday afternoon; on Thursday Mr. E[dmonds] was solemnly ordained."—(Letter MLXXV.)

By whom Mr. Edmonds was ordained is unknown to us. But in the records of the church, February 13th, 1757, he is called the Presbyterian minister of the Congregational church. It appears also that Rev. Mr. Hutson had served them most of his time during the year preceding that date in faithful labors, for which they agreed to give him seven hundred pounds currency. His Register of Marriages and Baptisms is continued, in connection with the Stoney Creek church, to the 18th of January, 1756; then from the 7th of July, 1756, the date of its next entry, in connection with the church in Charleston. From a diary of his, kept while he was pastor of this church, beginning February 27th, 1757, and terminating March 8th, 1761, we learn his occupations from day to day, the texts on which he and Mr. Edmonds preached, his trials and sorrows as a believer, in this season of imperfect sanctification, his meek and lowly spirit, his devotedness to the work of the ministry, of pastoral visitation, and of catechising; his unambitious temper, and his generous and cordial love for

his colleague, Mr. Edmonds. From this diary we learn that there was a Thursday evening lecture, that the first Friday in the month was observed as a day of public prayer, in concert with a number of other churches, and that their habit was to celebrate the Lord's supper once in every two months. The colleague pastorship of Mr. Edmonds and Mr. Hutson admitted of their occasional preaching elsewhere; and though we know nothing of Mr. Edmonds' engagements of this kind, we learn from Mr. Hutson's diary that he preached frequently at Wando Neck, Dorchester, Indian Land (Stoney Creek), his former charge, (near which, on the Combahee, he owned possessions,) and still more rarely at Pon Pon, Beaufort, James Island, Beech Hill, and at Rev. Mr. Pelot's, a minister of the Baptist church. Mr. Hutson lost his first wife on the 21st of November, 1757. Her maiden name was Mary Woodward. When he married her she was the widow of Mr. Isaac Chardon. She was a woman of singular discretion and piety, and her death-bed illustrated the power of the gospel. Extracts from her diary and letters were published in Charleston by Mr. Hutson in 1759, and republished, as we have before mentioned, in England, by Revs. John Conder and Thomas Gibbons, February 11th, 1760, and in Boston in 1809. Mr. Hutson married again on the 10th of October, 1758.

Rev. James Edmonds was born in the city of London about the year 1720. With what denomination of Dissenters he was there connected is to us unknown. Equally unknown is the year of his emigration to South Carolina. He was officiating, as we have seen, as a licentiate, at Cainhoy, twelve or fifteen miles from Charleston, on the Wando river, December 9th, 1753. He had two children, one of whom died in earliest infancy. His daughter, Mary, was living in 1815, when Dr. Ramsay published the history of this church, and was for many years a pensioner upon the funds of the Clergy Society. Mr. Edmonds was probably not a man of highly finished education, nor fine elocution. He is described by one who knew him (Dr. J. Witherspoon of Alabama) as portly in person, and polite, affable, and dignified in manners. His manner of preaching was plain, solemn, and unostentatious. His sermons were short, practical, and altogether extemporaneous.

The congregation increased so considerably under the labors of these faithful pastors, that the enlargement of the house of worship was resolved on, August 26th, 1759, and was accomplished at an expense of £2579 17s. 11d. Mr. Smith was still active as a minister. Two sermons of Josiah Smith,

V. D. M., from Ps. cxxvii. 1, and xxxviii. 2, are advertised in the South Carolina Gazette, April 7th, 1759.

The Independent church at WAPPETAW, in Christ's Church Parish, called also in Mr. Hutson's diary the church at Wando, and the church on Wando Neck, may have been vacant in the commencement of this period. On the 19th of March, 1757, Mr. Hutson speaks of preaching "at Brother Zubly's place, on Wando Neck," so that Mr. Zubly must have been officiating there at that time. The Rev. John Joachim Zubly was born at St. Gall, in Switzerland, August 27th, 1724, and was educated at the Gymnasium of that place, and ordained in the German church in London, August 19th, 1744.—(Letter to Dr. Stiles, Dec. 10th, 1768, Stiles' MSS., Yale College Library.)

As early as February, 1743, the inhabitants of Vernonsburg and the villages adjacent, in the neighborhood of Savannah, addressed a petition to the trustees of Georgia, "desiring a minister of Calvinistical principles to be sent to them," and recommended Mr. Zubly as the person of their choice. The trustees and Mr. Zubly could not agree upon terms, and they sent instead Rev. Bartholomew Zauberbuhler (see p. 217,) who was then in London, where he was ordained as deacon and priest by the Bishop of London. Mr. Zubly seems to have come to Georgia some two years after, and to have ministered to the Germans of Vernonsburg and Acton, "where he continued about three years, preaching the kingdom of God with success, and without any stated salary." "Afterwards the trustees" (of Georgia) "offered him £10 a year, which, with the improvements these poor Germans were to make on the glebe land, was to support him." Mr. Zubly looking upon this offer as a genteel way of dismissing him, or rather obliging him to leave the colony for want of a support, especially as he was then just married, was prevailed on, by many entreaties, to accept of a dissenting congregation in South Carolina, "where," says Mr. Habersham, from whom we quote, "he now resides, but twice or thrice a year makes a journey of one hundred miles here, to visit and preach to the first fruits of his labors, to whom he is greatly attached, and they to him." Mr. Habersham proceeds to say, "Mr. Zubly is a person of no mean parts and education; yea, I may say his talents are extraordinary; but, what is more, he is a faithful, zealous, and laborious minister of the gospel, and would to God our colony, or rather the whole world, was filled with such." So writes Mr. Habersham of Savannah, to his correspondent (Lloyd) in London,

under date of August 3d, 1751. If Mr. Zubly went directly from Georgia to the Wappetaw church, his ministry commenced there in 1748. But it appears that he preached for some time to the congregation at St. Matthew's, in Orangeburg district, previous to his connection with the church at Wappetaw.—(Hazelius's *Hist. of the Lutheran Church*, pp. 101, 102.) “After the Spanish and French war began he removed to Orangeburg.”—(White.) On the 25th of April, 1758, Mr. Hutson assisted at a meeting at the church on Wando Neck (Wappetaw), to take into consideration a very pressing call from both the German and English congregations of Savannah for Mr. Zubly's services. After sermon a church meeting was held “with great solemnity, and everything carried on in a very decent and becoming manner; and upon the whole the voice of the church was, That whereas Mr. Z—— was plainly convinced it was a providential call, and they were not able to make the contrary appear, they submitted to the removal.” On the 28th of January, 1759, Mr. Zubly occupied the pulpit in the Independent church in Charleston, and “preached his farewell sermon in a lively, powerful and satisfactory manner, from Acts xx. 32.”—(Hutson's *Diary*.) In the *South Carolina Gazette* is an advertisement of “The Real Christian's Hope in Death, published by J. J. Zubly, lately minister of the Gospel in South Carolina,” February 17th, 1759, which may be the discourse alluded to. He seems to have been succeeded by Rev. John Martin almost immediately. July 1st, 1759, Mr. Hutson went to Wando to preach for Mr. Martin in his absence, and again on the 15th of the same month. Mr. Martin had prepared for the ministry under the celebrated Samuel Davies of Virginia, was taken on trial by Hanover Presbytery, March 18th, 1756, and licensed August 25th. He was employed in supplying vacancies, and was called to Albemarle, Virginia, April 27th, 1757. The New England Society for Propagating the Gospel resolved to support a missionary to the Cherokee upper towns, if the Scotch society would do the same. Mr. Martin was ordained June 9th, 1757, being the first Presbyterian minister ordained in Virginia, Davies preaching the sermon from 1 Tim. iii. 1. He engaged in the Indian mission, January 25th, 1758. Was at Pon Pon on his way to his missionary field on the first of March in the same year, and is spoken of in high terms by Rev. Archibald Simpson, who went to Pon Pon to see him. Mr. Martin's prospects were for a short time encouraging, but

the Cherokees took up arms against the colonists on the breaking out of the French war, and the mission was abandoned.— (Webster, p. 674.)

The church at DORCHESTER and BEECH HILL, finding their situation on Ashley river unhealthy, and being confined to a tract of land too small for their purposes, in the year 1752 projected a settlement in Georgia. Their records after their transplantation date from this time.

“Our Ancestors,” say they, “having a greater regard to a compact settlement and religious society than future temporal advantages, took up but small tracts of land; many of which also, after their decease, being divided amongst their children, reduced them still to smaller. In consequence of which our lands were generally soon worn out. Few had sufficient for the convenient support and maintenance of their families, and some had none at all. Young people, as they grew up and settled for themselves, were obliged to move out from us for want of lands. For these reasons several persons among us seemed very much inclined to move out from us, and had several times searched for some other place in Carolina, proper for the settlement of a Society, but could find none capacious and convenient enough for that purpose; notwithstanding which, the same disposition to remove continuing with several, occasioned some serious reflections on the state and circumstances of this church; and it was thought probable that unless some tract of land, suitable for the convenient and compact settlement and support of a congregation could be found, to which we might move and settle in a body, the Society would, in a few years at most, be dispersed, so as not to be capable of supporting the Gospel among us. Especially if we should lose our present Pastor; and, which in that case seems not unlikely, be any considerable time without the administration of Gospel ordinances among us; the only circumstance which at present detains many, otherwise quite inclined to remove from us.

“Upon these considerations a removal of the whole Society seemed advisable; and having heard a good character of the lands in Georgia, ’twas thought proper that some should take a journey to that Colony, and search out some place there, convenient for our purpose, which was accordingly performed, at several inquiries, and issued, at length, in tolerable satisfaction as to the capacity of the place, and a remove, hereupon, more generally concluded on.

“On Monday, the 11th of May, Anno 1752, three persons of our Society set off from Beech Hill for Georgia, to view the lands there. On the 16th they arrived at Midway (so called on account of its supposed equal distance from the rivers Ogechee and Altamaha), the place proposed. After a few days’ stay, having viewed Midway swamp, and approving of it, and heard of large quantities of good lands adjoining, they returned home with an account of what they had seen and heard. The people were differently affected with the relation of what they had discovered. Several used their endeavors to frustrate the scheme; notwithstanding which, an inclination to remove seemed considerably to get the ascendant.

“About this time (1752) a petition was preferred to the council of Georgia, and a grant of thirty-one thousand nine hundred and fifty acres of land was obtained.

“In the beginning of August six persons set off by land, and seven more by water, to survey the lands and make settlements. Those by land being disappointed in the coming of the Schooner, on board of which were their provisions and negroes, were obliged to return without accomplishing all they

intended. Such as were on board the Schooner, meeting with contrary winds, were so long in their passage, that they spent most of their provisions before their arrival, and were obliged to return. On the 15th, while the Schooner lay in the harbor (near St. Catherine's Island,) there arose a hurricane, which was in Carolina the most violent that ever was known since the settlement of the English there, which in many places left not one tree in twenty standing. On the 16th they attempted to put out to sea, and could not, and therefore went within land to Tibi, where meeting with head winds they sailed up to Savana, where several leaving the vessel went home by land. The rest who remained in her had a tedious long passage and were met by a second hurricane before they got home, but were then also in a safe harbour. In their passage to Georgia, one negro fell overboard and was drowned, and those who went up by land had two of their horses drowned in their return. These adverse providences were very discouraging to most, and brought the affaire of our removeing to a very considerable stand.

"On the 6th of December, 1752, Mr. Benjamin Baker* and family, and Mr. Samuel Bacon and family, arrived at Midway and proceeded to form a settlement. Mrs. Baker died on the day after their arrival. Soon after, Messrs. Parmenus Way, William Baker, John Elliott, John Winn, Edward Sumner, and John Quarterman, arrived and began to settle. Finding a general disposition in the people to remove, the Rev. Mr. Osgood went into the new settlement in March, 1754, and the whole church and society gradually collected and settled there."

They soon erected a temporary house of worship, of logs, and the first sermon was delivered in it on the 7th of June, 1754, the congregation having worshipped on the four preceding Sabbaths in private houses. That they might leave their "children after them compactly settled together," and perpetuate the religious character of their community, they agreed that no one of them should "sell his settlement or tract of land, or any part thereof, to any stranger out of the society, without giving the refusal of its purchase to the society." The attention paid by the congregation of Dorchester to their own intellectual improvement, while yet they remained in Carolina, is evident from the fact that they had instituted a library society, called the Dorchester and Beech Hill Alphabet Society, which is still perpetuated (1859), in the Midway congregation, under the name of the "Midway and Newport Library Society," and continues its regular meetings.—(Mallard's Hist. of Midway Church, Savannah, 1841.)

* Benjamin Baker was born in Dorchester, S. C., in 1717. At the age of twenty-three he accompanied Gen. Oglethorpe in his expedition against St. Augustine. In 1776 Mr. Baker's house, furniture, and books, with the records he had been making, were consumed by fire. He suffered much during the war of the Revolution, having espoused the Whig cause. His house was rifled and he and his son John imprisoned. He was more than twenty-seven years the clerk of Midway congregation. He died in 1785, leaving several volumes of manuscripts. It has commonly been supposed that the old records of the Dorchester congregation were in the possession of Mr. Baker, and were consumed in his dwelling.

Mr. Osgood must have returned to Carolina shortly for some temporary purpose. Mr. Simpson, in his diary, Lord's-day, May 5th, 1754, says: "I rode sixteen miles to Beech Hill and heard Mr. Osgood, the Independent minister, have a great day of the gospel." But the absence of the congregation from Dorchester and its neighborhood was much felt in that community. A correspondent of the *South Carolina Gazette*, under date of March 12th, 1754, presents the following query:—"Whether some eligible method cannot be fallen upon to prevent the dispeopling of *Beech Hill*; and to encourage the better settling of poor DORCHESTER, Shemtown, Childsbury, Jacksonborough, and Radnor, and even some new towns at convenient places?" Worship had been conducted alternately at Dorchester and Beech Hill; and the brick church, still standing and in use, had been built on a tract of ninety-five acres belonging to the church, in or about the year 1700. The house at Beech Hill was of wood, and stood on a like tract of ninety-five acres. Lot 13, on which a fort and magazine were built, and lots 33, 44, and 112, in the town of Dorchester, and one-twenty-sixth of undivided lands around Dorchester, was given in trust forever to said church.—(Petition, in 1793, for Incorporation.) The Episcopal church in the town of Dorchester was first built in 1719-20. This was repaired and enlarged in 1734. It is now all destroyed—except the tower, the most beautiful ruin in South Carolina, which was erected by the congregation and furnished with a ring of bells in 1751. Religious services seemed to have been still kept up to some extent in the church edifices vacated by the Independent congregation which had migrated to Georgia, as the frequent entries in Mr. Hutson's diary show.

The Independent church of Indian Land, now STONEY CREEK, in the neighborhood of Pocotaligo, flourished under the faithful labors of Rev. William Hutson until his removal to Charleston in the early part of 1756. A letter from him to a Mr. Forfitt is found in Gillies' *Historical Collections*, appendix, p. 506, speaking of the efforts made for the religious instruction of the negroes by Hugh Bryan, by a minister in his own vicinity, and by a young man engaged for this purpose on two large estates, and of the circulation of books among them. Archibald Simpson, by permission of the presbytery, took charge of the church, June 16th, 1756. "My good friend, Jonathan Bryan," he writes, "who lives mostly in Georgia, has promised to live here if I will settle." He speaks of "the great change in the congregation since he was there three

years before, so many dead or moved ;" alludes to the fatal disease of a twelvemonth before, "so many empty seats, so many graves, and the people few." He represents the congregation as smaller than at Wiltown, where he had been engaged in preaching.

We deeply regret that we lack the means of presenting in any fullness the history of the strictly Presbyterian churches, and more especially that of the central church of this order, the First Presbyterian church of Charleston. We are given to understand that there are no documents in existence, except some few accounts in reference to its pecuniary affairs, from which its history could be drawn. From a record in the papers of the Wilton church we learn that Charles Lorimer, its pastor, was a member of presbytery sitting at Charles-Town, anno 1751. He was member of a committee appointed by the presbytery at its last meeting, which committee assembled at Wiltown (properly Wilton) on the 2d of June, 1752. He is named in the records of the Independent church of Charleston as "minister of the Presbyterian church in this town," in 1750. On the second Wednesday in March, 1754, Mr Simpson says, "Mr. Lorimer gave in" (to presbytery) "a demission of his charge in Charles-Town, which was sustained, and the relation dissolved." It appears, too, that he had not retained the popularity which first attended him as pastor of this church. "Mr. Lorimer, about three years ago, was most cried up and esteemed, but is not able now to continue his ministry with any comfort and satisfaction." The church for some two years was probably without a settled pastor, and dependent on occasional supplies. Mr. Simpson attended a *pro re nata* meeting of presbytery in Charleston, on Wednesday, the 30th of July, 1755, and on "Lord's-day, August 3d, preached in the Scots church to a numerous auditory." Again, "Lord's-day, January 11th, 1756, preached on Exodus xxxiii. 18, all day." Again on the 1st of February. On the 6th, Friday, the presbytery met in that town, and Mr. Simpson was made moderator. Their next stated pastor was Rev. Philip Morrison. Mr. Simpson notes his arrival and settlement, March 16th, 1757. To Charleston, "Thursday, 17th. Spent the evening with Rev. Mr. Lorimer and Rev. Mr. Morrison, who has lately come in for Charlestown. Hope the Lord may make him a great and lasting blessing to that congregation." Again he went to Charleston on Wednesday, the 18th of April, to presbytery ; on the 19th, preached before presby-

tery by appointment. There were ministers of other denominations present, and Rev. Philip Morrison "was installed as minister of Charlestown." Though not the oldest Presbyterian church, this was for long years the central church of the Presbyterian order, and the seat of most of the regular meetings of presbytery.

The HUGUENOT CHURCH in Charleston still had the Rev. Francis Guichard as its pastor. The South Carolina Gazette, December to January, 1751, represents him as proposing to sell his plantation and other property at Goose Creek, with the view of leaving the colony. He continued to serve the church until 1753. His last entry in the church register is as follows:—"J'ai joint dans le saint état de mariage Daniel Trezvant, fils de Isaac et de Susanne Trezvant, et Elizabette Miller; À Charlestown, ce 5th Avril, 1753.—François Guichard." He was succeeded in 1753 by Jean Pierre Têtard. His baptismal register commences, on the 6th of July, in these words: "Ici commence le Registre de Jean Pierre Têtard, successeur de Mr. François Guichard au ministère de l'Eglise François de Charlestown, 6ve Juillet, 1753." He was succeeded by Barthelmi Henri Hiemeli in 1759, whose register begins on the 10th of January that year.

The Presbyterian church of WILTON [Wiltown] in the early part of this period, was destitute of a pastor. There is in existence among the papers of this church an obligation attached to a blank call to be forwarded to the presbytery of Edinburgh, through "Rev. Thomas Bell, moderator of the presbytery of South Carolina." On the 2d of June, 1752, there was a meeting of a committee of this presbytery, appointed to settle some difficulty which had occurred in the congregation. From the record containing a notice of this meeting, it appears that at that time there was no pastor in connection with the church. The document commences, "The Committee appointed by the last Presbytery at Charles-Town, met, and—Post Preces sederunt, The Reverend the Moderator, Mr. Thomas Murray, Messrs. John McLeod, Thomas Bell, Charles Lorimer, Ministers, and Samuel Davidson, Ruling Elder." It is signed "Thomas Bell, Cl. p. t." This record, and the wills and testaments of Henry Sheriff, bequeathing £200 for the support of a Presbyterian minister who shall subscribe the Westminster Confession, and preach agreeably thereto, and adhere to the discipline, government, and worship of the Church of Scotland, and of George Mitchell, Purchase Hen-

drick, Royal Sprey, William Ferguson, and William Sheriff, expressed in similar terms, establish the full Presbyterian character of this church.

This brings us to the introductory history of Mr. ARCHIBALD SIMPSON, a man of uncommon piety and industry in his ministerial work, who labored for many years in the country between Charleston and Savannah—first, for a brief period, in connection with the Wilton church, and then, through the most of his ministerial life, in connection with the Stoney Creek church, as the successor of Mr. Hutson, after his removal to Charleston. Mr. Simpson was born in the city of Glasgow, March 1st, 1734 or 5, and was the son of Mr. William Simpson, a merchant of Perth, and Susannah Gardner of Glasgow. He was piously educated, but from eleven years of age became delicate in health. From very early life he was the subject of religious impressions, and sat under the ministry of Mr. Stirling. In 1744 he entered a printing-house in some capacity which he does not mention. In November of the same year, a teacher of the grammar school, perceiving his great desire after learning, spoke to his mother and obtained her consent that he should join his class. Soon after this he lost his much-loved brother, John, who was washed overboard at sea. His religious impressions deepened, and he sought relief in constant attendance on the means of grace. He heard with interest at this time Mr. Fisher, and Mr. Bell of Cambuslang, and partook of the sacrament first under the ministry of Mr. Stirling of the Utter [Outer] High Church of Glasgow. His diary commences in the fourteenth year of his age, anno 1748. It is filled with his own religious exercises given at great length, and notices of the preachers he heard and the services he attended. Among them, besides those already mentioned, were Hamilton of Douglas, Scott, McCulloch, Adams of Glasgow, Gillies, Wodrow, Miller of Paisley, Ralph and Henry Erskine, Dick, Carr, Henderson, Webster of Edinburgh, Maxwell, Gray, and Connell. Even at that early age he has discriminating views of divine truth. “Hears a moral sermon, beautiful but Christless,” at Boston, and “a gospel sermon, but a weak one,” at Greenock. He is present at the sacrament at Cambuslang, and becomes a hearer of George Whitefield, whom he greatly admires. He now is admitted to the College at Glasgow, and soon after devotes himself solemnly to the ministry of reconciliation. He still continues to hear these eminent Scotch divines, whose names have been had in reverence ever since. Among them,

besides those already mentioned, occur the names of Wither-
spoon and others. His acts of solemn covenanting with God
were very numerous, indicating the sincerest piety. His
Saturdays were spent in the fields, or some other place of
retirement, usually with his beloved "comrade W. R."—des-
tined afterwards to be a laborer also in the province of South
Carolina, in religious exercises, reading, prayer, praise, self-
examination, and renewing of covenant vows. It was during a
season of revival in religion, parallel with "the Great Awaken-
ing" in America, which took deep hold on many hearts in
Scotland. He sometimes speaks of "great concern, weeping
and groaning in the congregation," under the preaching of
Mr. Gillies. He was married to Jane Muir, daughter of Mr.
William Muir, in August, 1752, and sailed for South Carolina
on the 6th of March, 1753, leaving his wife behind, who fol-
lowed him, arriving in Charleston on December 12th, 1755.
He came out under an engagement to Mr. Whitefield to be
employed at his orphan-house. For some reason Mr. Simp-
son did not remain long at Bethesda, and when he met Mr.
Whitefield in the vicinity of Wilton, the interview between
them was extremely unpleasant. Mr. Whitefield upbraided
him with his non-fulfilment of his contract with him, with the
imprudence of his marriage, probably from his circumstances
and his youth, for otherwise his marriage seems to have
been eminently happy. Mr. Whitefield appears to have been
ungraciously severe, compelling him to refund the money
advanced for his passage out, which he did in September of
the same year, 1754, paying over to Mr. Whitefield's attorney
£7 8s. sterling, which, in his circumstances, he speaks of as
a great burden. These circumstances in some measure
estranged him from Whitefield, though in his youthful diary he
had expressed himself in the highest terms of him, had can-
vassed his merits and answered the objections of his enemies.
His fervor, piety, and matchless eloquence had deeply im-
pressed him, as well as the wonderful effects which resulted,
though he thought him less instructive than many of their own
divines in the Church of Scotland. Such was Mr. Simpson's
introduction into South Carolina. Henceforth for a consid-
erable season his diaries, which exist in ten volumes, and
extend from some time in the year 1748 to March 24th, 1784,
with some interruptions, must be our chief source of informa-
tion in respect to many things occurring in the neighboring
churches.

His journal in Carolina commences in May, 1754, when he

was residing within the limits of the Pon Pon congregation, within four miles of the church of which Rev. James Rymer was the pastor. We are immediately introduced to the presbytery then in existence, of whose proceedings we know so little. "Monday, May 13th, went to Charlestown to attend Presbytery." Wednesday, 15th, "Four of the ministers are come to town, all that will be here." The ministers present were Rev. Samuel Hunter of Williamsburg, moderator; Rev. Charles Lorimer, of the Scotch Presbyterian church, Charlestown; Rev. Thomas Bell of James Island, and Rev. John Baxter. Of the two absent, Rev. James Rymer was one, detained by ill health; and most probably the Rev. John McLeod, late of Edisto Island, was the other. On Thursday, May 15th, 1754, Mr. Simpson delivered his presbyterial sermon from Eph. ii. 12, and after singing a part of a psalm, his "Exercise and Addition from Eph. ii. 8, explained," he says, "the Greek Testament, defended my Theses and signed the Confession of Faith and the Formula, was set apart by Mr. Hunter, the moderator. I was appointed to preach at Wiltown, till we see what comes of their call from Scotland, and every fourth Sabbath at Edisto, which is now vacant." Mr. Simpson thus began his ministry as a probationer at Wilton.

In his first communion sermon, June 15th, 1764, Mr. Rymer preached the action sermon. In his second, on December 22d, Mr. Lorimer and Mr. Bell assisted and administered the communion, and ten persons were admitted. January 1st, 1755, "Preached in my own kirk." On the 2d of April, 1755, he was ordained *sine titulo*, Charles Lorimer preaching the ordination sermon, from 2 Tim. ii. 15. In his journal a full account is given of the ordination services. "Thus," says he, "was I ordained and set apart as minister at large." He could not be ordained as pastor of Wilton church, as an application, which had not been revoked, had been made to the presbytery of Edinburgh for a minister. He was given to understand by the trustees that he was to all intents and purposes settled among these people on condition that the call sent forward should not be accepted in Scotland. On Lord's-day, October 18th, being the sacramental season, eight were admitted to the church. "One was son to a worthy old minister of this place, and is himself old." The minister was evidently Mr. Stobo, and the person alluded to was his son. Over the conversion of this gentleman Mr. Simpson rejoices; but seeking to carry out his Scotch ideas of discipline upon him,

in reference to matters lying in the past, Mr. Stobo becomes hostile to Mr. Simpson, and being a man of influence, the young minister, whose zeal may have carried him beyond the bounds of discretion, is soon in circumstances not altogether pleasant. The congregation becomes divided also in reference to the site of their church. A chapel of ease had been built in the upper part of the congregation. It was now proposed to erect a new church in the centre. The matter could not easily be adjusted, and presbytery appointed a committee to meet at Wilton to settle it. The committee accordingly met on the 26th of November. Mr. Simpson preached on the occasion from Philippi. ii. 1, 2. The people of the south district were willing to have a church built in the centre, and would throw up the chapel when this was built. Till then they must have one-half of the minister's time at the chapel. The north district refused, and the meeting broke up in confusion. The south district declared that they would have nothing to do with Wilton as their parish church. In the midst of these troubles his wife joins him, after a separation of two years, nine months, and six days, and after a passage of nine weeks and three days from Leith, in Scotland. The presbytery, at its meeting in Charleston in February, 1756, "considering that they have sent frequent letters to Edinburgh to stop the call from this parish, &c., appointed Mr. Bell to come and give this people an opportunity to call me or any other. Thursday, 19th, a committee of ministers met over the river for that people to sign a call for me. The people called me, though some had before signed for Mr. Banantine. But the presbytery have other designs." When presbytery met, Mr. Simpson found a strong party against him. A party from Wilton presented a call, which he refused on account of their divisions. The people of Pon Pon, whose pulpit he had been supplying, then sent in a call for his labors. He complains of the bitterness of many who had professed friendship: "The warm friends of yesterday are my bitterest enemies to-day." On Lord's-day, April the 4th, the church was shut against him, and he was publicly abused. He made an appointment to preach in the woods, but was invited by a gentleman to occupy his house. The congregation, with the exception of nine or ten, followed him, and he preached under the trees, about two miles from the meeting-house, the great body of the people sustaining him. In the midst of these troubles he receives, on the 12th of July, 1756, a call from Indian Land (Stoney Creek church), made vacant by the removal of

Mr. Hutson to Charleston. "Most of them," says he, "are Independents." On the 20th of May, presbytery sits in Charleston, Mr. Simpson himself being moderator. Presbytery will not allow him to accept the call to Pon Pon without accepting that to Wilton, because most of the Wilton congregation would follow him thither. He at length produces the call to Indian Land, which presbytery allows him to accept, assuring the church that they would not interfere with their government, but that it might remain as before. A letter from Mr. Simpson to Ezekiel Branford, one of the trustees, dated at Indian Land, October 12th, 1765, shows that Mr. Simpson ministered to the Wilton church from January 8th, 1754, to April 4th, 1756; and that on the 21st day of May of the same year, he accepted a call to "Indian Land." There is no further notice of the affairs of Wilton church till Mr. Simpson's account of the meeting of presbytery in Charleston on Wednesday, the 16th of May, 1759, when "a call was presented from Wilton, or rather a corner of it, to Rev. Mr. Al——n" [Alison], "a young man licensed and ordained to the Northward, but who has been preaching to our vacant congregations above twelve months. The call was by Mr. St[o]bo and a few in that corner. The Pon Pon call was offered to me, but opposed by some people. The presbytery agreed to Mr. Al'[iso]"n's settlement, but deferred mine at Pon Pon."

This Mr. Alison's name was John. He and a Mr. Hugh Knox were waiting on the synod of Philadelphia to be examined according to their rules, May 24th, 1751. They were directed to attend the presbytery of Newcastle, at Elk river, on the first Tuesday in August, for examination. On the 27th of May, 1756, John Alison was ordered to supply the vacancies in Virginia and North Carolina the next fall and winter. Hugh Knox's name appears on the minutes of the United Synod of New York and Philadelphia, in 1758; that of John Alison, who was licensed with Knox, appears no more. Webster says (Hist., 245) "he returned to Ireland in 1756." How this could be when, as he further says, "he spent much time" among "the vacancies between Yadkin and the Catawba," we do not see. We suppose he was the same John Alison who was installed at Wilton on Saturday, May 1st, 1759.

Ministers present were Mr. McLeod, Mr. Lorimer, Mr. Morrison, Mr. Simpson, and Mr. Alison himself. Mr. Morrison presided, and preached from Mark xvi. 15, and the rest gave the right-hand of fellowship. "I never saw," says Mr.

Simpson, "anything like it, except the violent settlements at home." Only six held up their hands to receive him as their minister. All the rest of this once flourishing congregation having either absented themselves or refused to acquiesce. It is not improbable that Mr. Simpson's own feelings have given a coloring to all these transactions. Thus closed Mr. Simpson's connection with Wilton church. At the time of his leaving them they were in arrears to him to the amount of £60 sterling, which they did not pay for some years.

During this period of time Mr. Thomas Bell was pastor of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF JAMES ISLAND. Mr. Simpson often visited him on his way to Charleston. "Saturday, August 23d, 1755, to James Island. Kindly received by Mr. Bell. Lord's-day, 24th, preached, and baptized Mr. Bell's child. One of the hottest of days. November 7th, Friday, got safely to James Island, about thirty-four miles. Preached the preparation sermon from Song iii. 11. Endeavored to put the crown on the Mediator's head. Lord's-day, November 9th, Mr. Bell preached his action sermon from John v. 14. Monday, preached from John iii. 2. Had an opportunity to be a witness for the divinity of my glorious Lord, Jesus Christ, against a young man who denied it, and yet sat down yesterday at the Lord's table." Mr. Bell was moderator of the presbytery in 1750, as we have seen in what has before been written. On Saturday, 10th of February, we find the following entry in Mr. Simpson's diary:—"Rode to James Island to visit and preach for the minister there, who is very much advanced in years and greatly afflicted with sickness in his person and family. In the evening got safe to the Rev. Mr. Ker's. Lord's-day, 11th, preached to the congregation on James Island." He was then on his way to a *pro re nata* meeting of presbytery in Charleston. We meet with the name of Mr. Bell no more in Mr. Simpson's diary.

The Presbyterian church and congregation of JOHN'S ISLAND was served by the Rev. Thomas Murray at the beginning of this decade. His name is mentioned as moderator of a committee of presbytery that sat at Wilton, June 2d, 1752, and his death is recorded in the South Carolina Gazette of August 15th, 1753: "Died, Rev^d Thos. Murray, minister on John's Island, universally lamented. As his ministerial habits, cheerful conversation, steady friendship, and unaffected piety commanded the respect and engaged the affections of all that knew him, his death is not only a particular but a public loss." He was succeeded by Rev. Charles Lorimer from the time of

his leaving the "Scots meeting" in Charleston, which was in October, 1754. He was installed pastor of John's Island on the 18th of April, 1755. On the 11th of April Mr. Simpson visits Mr. Lorimer on John's Island; on Friday, the 25th, being the last before the communion, he preached there. On Sabbath, Mr. Bell preached the action sermon, then three tables were served. On Monday, Mr. Lorimer preached. On August 20th, 1755, he sets out for John's Island, is kindly received by Mr. Lorimer and his newly-married wife, also by Rev. Mr. Ashton, or Ashmun, then there, an old Presbyterian minister on his way from the West Indies.

Mr. McLeod appears to have retired from the ministry on EDISTO ISLAND at the time of Mr. Simpson's licensure in 1754, since he is directed to preach every fourth Sabbath at Edisto, which is vacant. On his first visit to Edisto, Friday, June 7th, 1754, he was lost in the woods, but got over the next day. On another occasion he speaks of being driven back by the winds, and reaching the island late in the night. Lord's-day, July 27th, 1755: "Came to Edisto yesterday. Prevented preaching by violent rain in the forenoon. At 12 o'clock, preached to about thirty people. Spent the evening with Rev. Mr. McLeod." Thursday, March 11th, 1756: "Captain Edings died suddenly. A great loss. Went by land to Edisto, the corpse sent by water. Crossed over and rode several miles to the place of interment." The notices of Edisto cease after this, and it is probable he did not preach there regularly after his settlement at Stoney Creek.

We learn from Mr. Simpson's diary, too, of the remains of a PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AT BEAUFORT. July 23d, 1756: "This afternoon went over to Port Royal Island, to preach at Beaufort next Sabbath to the remains of a Presbyterian church. Lord's-day, 25th: was much pleased with the solid appearance of the congregation, which was pretty numerous, as there was no preaching in the church [Episcopal]. Monday, 1757, at Port Royal Island, he admitted two young women, converted by his labors; and Tuesday, 15th February, admitted their father, a wonderful conversion!" Lord's-day, 20th: "a sweet communion season." Lord's-day, March 26th, 1758: "After sermon, went with my wife and child to Port Royal by water, along with some of my dear people who live there." May 6th, 1759: "My comrade, W[illiam] R[ichardson] at Port Royal."

The Bethel PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH and congregation of PON PON had for its pastor, in the year 1750, Rev. George Anderson. Application had been made to the presbytery of Edin-

burgh for a pastor, and Mr. Anderson was sent out in pursuance of that application. He arrived December 25th, 1750, and was installed in March 1751, Rev. Charles Lorimer presiding. He served the church but for one twelvemonth, his death occurring about the 20th of November, 1751. From this to the year 1754 the congregation was dependent on temporary supplies, among which occur the names of Messrs. Osgood, Hunter, Bell, and Hutson. On the 23d of December the congregation met with a great loss in the death of their elder, Isaac Hayne, father of the revolutionary martyr of the same name. He left Mrs. Anderson £200, and her daughter £400.

On the 20th of January, 1752, the following record is made in reference to the recent loss of their pastor and elder:—"The loss of these two valuable men occasioned the call of a special presbytery, who met at Bethel meeting-house, Pon Pon, at which time our whole church and congregation met and gave thanks to God for such an enlarged spirit of love and unity and good will as appeared among them." The business affairs of the congregation becoming entangled, they were advised by presbytery, at a *pro re nata* meeting at Pon Pon, January 14th, 1752, to appoint trustees, five in number, for their management. William Little, Thomas Clifford, James Dunnom, Anthony Lambright, and Joseph Gibbons were accordingly appointed, and empowered to hire out the slaves belonging to the congregation, to rent the pews, and pay the salary of the minister, who shall be a Presbyterian, subscribing the Westminster Confession, and subject to the presbytery of South Carolina. The congregation sent on a call through the presbytery for Rev. Mr. John Trotter. Mr. Trotter having other engagements, and the presbytery being thus empowered, filled the call with the name of Rev. James Rymer, who arrived in Charleston January 24th, 1753, and was installed by the presbytery on the 14th of February following. Mr. Rymer's ministry was hardly longer than Mr. Anderson's.

On the 8th of July, 1755, Mr. Simpson hears of Mr. Rymer's indisposition, goes to visit him, and learns of his death on the way. From the notice of his death in the South Carolina Gazette of July 10th, 1755, we learn that Mr. Rymer was born in St. Andrew's, in Scotland, bred and educated in the university there, licensed and ordained in the Church of Scotland; and that upon a call from the Presbyterian church at Pon Pon he was transported thither in the year 1752." On the 5th of February, 1756, the following record appears transcribed in the session book of the church, relative to the affairs of the congregation, which were laid before presbytery, viz. "We,

the members of the Presbytery now met at Charles Town, do declare our satisfaction with the within Report [this report is too long for insertion here], and hereby give and grant, as far as in us lies, unto the Trustees for the Church and Congregation of Bethel, Pon Pon, a full quietus. This done and certified in open Presbytery, this 5th day of February, 1756. Signed, Archibald Simpson, Moderator ; Jonathan S. Porter, minister ; Thomas Bell, minister ; Wm. Donaldson, minister ; James Sandiford, Elder ; Wm. Edings, Elder."

We have spoken on a preceding page of the difficulties interposed to the settlement of Mr. Simpson over this church. After his settlement at Stoney Creek, Bethel renewed its application for half his time. This was agreed to by the other church and approved of by presbytery. The Pon Pon people very generously agreed to give £50 sterling to the Indian Land congregation towards a parsonage, they having no such convenience, and Mr. Hutson, their former pastor, "having a very good estate of his own." But on Lord's-day, September 11th, 1757, he writes—"Took my leave of Pon Pon, the Presbytery having forbid the engagement to be renewed without their special allowance." From this onward his ministry at Pon Pon was only occasional. On the 8th of July, 1759, his journal mentions the arrival of Mr. Charles Gordon, a young Scotch minister, with his family. "Above three years ago Presbytery had thought of maintaining an itinerant minister in the back settlements. They sent to Scotland for one. Finding themselves scantied in means, they determined, if one came on that invitation, to settle him in some vacancy. This invitation Mr. Gordon accepted two years ago. He arrived about two weeks since, and is recommended by Presbytery to Pon Pon." On Wednesday, the 31st of October, at a *pro re nata* meeting of presbytery at the Pon Pon church, at which Mr. Alison presided, Mr. Gordon was installed over that church and congregation.

We find another minister besides Mr. Alison, who by a similar course of events was transferred from Pennsylvania to the province of South Carolina. In answer to supplications from Virginia and North Carolina, the synod of Philadelphia, on the 24th of May, 1753, appointed Mr. McMordie to supply the vacancies in those parts for ten weeks or longer, beginning with the first of July ; and Mr. Donaldson in like manner to supply ten weeks or longer, beginning with the first of October. They are recommended to show "a special regard to the vacancies of North Carolina, between the Atkin [Yadkin] and Catoba [Catawba] rivers." On the 29th of May, 1755, Mr. [William] Donaldson is directed to supply the back parts of

Virginia and North Carolina, "at least three months next fall." Mr. Donaldson appears to have extended his missionary labors still further southward, and to have remained longer in the field. In Mr. Simpson's diary we find the following entries: Saturday, January 31st, 1756, "Rode 35 miles to Charlestown; rode about 100 miles this week, chiefly on horseback. Lord's-day, February 1st, Preached in Charlestown. Friday, 6th, Presbytery constituted, poor I Moderator. Saturday, 7th, Rev. Mr. William Donaldson, who was last year ordained a minister at large for Pennsylvania, was received a member of our Presbytery, and accepted a call to Waccama, within our bounds." A petition had been sent from WACCAMAW to this intent. We have found Wakamah, or Wakamaha, and Wakamaha Neck, mentioned as among his places of occasional preaching, in the register of Mr. Baxter. This was probably at Kingston, in the bounds of Horry District, which was settled by the Scotch-Irish about the same time with Williamsburg. The earliest lots in the township of Williamsburg were granted in 1735, in Kingston, now Conwaysboro, Horry, in 1735, 1736. Mr. Donaldson was moderator of presbytery, November 19th, 1756. Mr. Donaldson must have visited these parts soon after his appointment by the synod of Philadelphia. Mr. Simpson, on the 16th of February, 1755, tells how much he was "refreshed with the heavenly discourse of a very worthy Presbyterian minister, who had some months ago been sent out by the synod of Philadelphia to preach through the back parts of Virginia and Carolina."

The Presbyterian church on the BLACK MINGO, near its junction with the Black river, lost its minister, the Rev. Samuel Hunter, in June, 1754. "He was," says Mr. Simpson, "a worthy and judicious minister of Christ, of middle age, having been in the province about twenty years, which is very extraordinary, few ministers living half that time in this country, which is so sickly and fatal to people in our way." Of this church Dr. J. R. Witherspoon, of Alabama, who was raised in the Williamsburg congregation, and was a descendant of John Witherspoon the emigrant, says, "there was also a church below Black Mingo, usually called 'the brick church,' erected several years anterior to the church near Kingstree, which has sometimes been called through mistake the original church of Williamsburg. It was not built by any of my ancestors."—(MS. letter to Dr. Thornwell, October 2d, 1848.)*

* Was there a Presbyterian community and congregation so early as this in the district or county of Georgetown? The ancient register of marriages

The Presbyterian church of WILLIAMSBURG still enjoyed the faithful labors of the Rev. John Rae. Everything in the church was conducted with vigor and punctuality, in accordance with the discipline of the Church of Scotland during the period of which we now treat. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was duly administered, when "dyets of examination were appointed for communicants. Saturday was observed as a day of fasting and humiliation, and Monday as a day of thanksgiving." Offenders were subjected to discipline, and however scandalous their offence, they were compelled to confess it and be rebuked for it in the presence of the congregation. Not only did the days of religious observance appointed by the public authorities receive attention, but occasionally we find them setting apart days of their own accord. Thus, on May 3d, 1752, session "considering that the conduct of Providence seemed very threatening in the present long drought in the time of planting and sowing, unanimously agreed to appoint a meeting of the society for prayer and supplication on Monday, May 4th." There had previously, April 5th, been a nomination of additional elders. The edict of their nomination was served on the 19th, being Lord's-day, and their installment appointed on Thursday following, which was to be observed as a day of fasting and humiliation. On that day "the minister represented (to the session) the expediency of signing the formula of the Confession of Faith by all elders of the Presbyterian persuasion, that hereby they might not only satisfy all concerned with respect to the articles of their faith, but also be entitled to sit and vote in our Presbyteries; to which the session unanimously agreed." When, therefore, the ceremony of their ordination and installation took place, they signed the following paper, which is inscribed upon the records of their church:

"We, the subscribers, members of the Session of the Congregation of Williamsburg, Do hereby declare that we sincerely own and believe the whole

in the Williamsburg church has the following entries: May 27th, 1753, "Joseph Roper, in the neighboring congregation of Wyneau, with Mary Macantz, were proclaimed I^o and married November 1." Again, January 19th, 1755, "John Durant, in Wyneau congregation, and Hannah Caples, were proclaimed in order to marriage I^o, &c. Married February 6th." Mr. Baxter's register, beginning January 7th, 1733-34, and terminating in 1765, shows that on five different occasions he preached at Winyaw, the first time preaching twice and administering the Lord's supper; the second time and the fifth preaching twice, and the third and fourth once. March 15th, 1805, a call was received from the congregation of Black River, Winyaw, Georgetown District, for the ministerial labors of Murdoch Murphy, by the "First Presbytery of South Carolina," which accordingly held an intermediate session at that church, and ordained and installed him on the 18th of May in that year. (See page 589.)

Doctrine contained in the Confession of Faith approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and ratified by Law in the year sixteen hundred and ninety, and frequently confirmed by divers Acts of Parliament since that time, to be agreeable to the Scriptures of Truth; and we do own the same as the confession of our Faith. And likewise, We do own the purity of Worship presently authorized and practiced in that Church, and also the Presbyterian Government and Discipline now so happily established therein, which Doctrine, Worship, and Church Government we are persuaded are founded upon the Word of God; and we promise, through the Grace of God, that we shall constantly and finally adhere to the same, and to the outmost of our power shall in our station assert, maintain, and defend the s^d Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, by Church Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies, and submit to the s^d Discipline and Government, and never shall endeavor, directly, nor indirectly, the prejudice and subversion of the same. And we promise that we shall follow no divisive course from the present establishment of that Church, renouncing all Doctrines, Tenets, and Opinions whatsoever contrary to or inconsistent with the s^d Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of that Church. Jo. Rae, Min^r; John James, James McClelland, James Witherspoon, John Liviston, Robert Witherspoon, Samuel Fulton, Robert Wilson, Robert Paisley, Gayin Witherspoon, William Dobien, Elders."

After this follows, under date of June 8th, a full account of the legacy of Henry Sheriff of James Island, with an extract from his will, which he ordered to be registered in the session books of the several churches to whom his legacies were left. The legacy to the Williamsburg church was the sum of £200, the interest of which was to be applied to the support of a Presbyterian minister who shall be of the profession and principles already named. It appears from this record that Mr. Sheriff had left legacies in like manner to several different congregations. The solicitude for soundness in the faith and in the principles of church order which these several proceedings manifest, are worthy of all praise. This legacy was duly received and applied to the designated use.

The ministry of Mr. Rae seems to have been pursued with the most exemplary diligence and faithfulness. Mr. Simpson bears his testimony to his great worth, and the ancient records of the church, kept through his pastorate with extraordinary particularity and care, attest his regard for sound doctrine and holy living. The church register informs us that he was married to Mrs. Rachel Baird, of Prince George parish, July 10th, 1750.

The Rev. John Baxter was still active as a member of presbytery. At the meeting in Charleston, November 20th, 1754, he introduced a young man to presbytery, Mr. Banantine, who was taken under its care as a candidate for the ministry. He was a native of Scotland, and his father a clergyman there, who had been some years dead. Mr. Banan-

tine had been a teacher in Mr. Baxter's family for some two years and a half. At a subsequent meeting, in March, his trials were completed, and he received license on Friday, the 14th of that month. Mr. Simpson notices his subsequent preaching in Charleston twice during a meeting of presbytery in November, 1755. "Thursday, 20th, Mr. Banantine preached an excellent sermon on 'Love to one another.'" Some of the Wilton people, he also notices, preferred him as a pastor at the time Mr. Simpson himself was a candidate before them. Where Mr. Baxter's labors were now bestowed we are less able to say. From his register of texts, and places of preaching, Santee and Black river were his most constant places of preaching in the latter part of his ministry. His landed possessions were in Williamsburg district. Eleven hundred acres were granted to him in the township of Williamsburg in 1737, three hundred in 1739.—(Grant books, Secretary of State's office.) Within this period too we must date the origin of the SALEM CHURCH, of BLACK RIVER, of which further particulars will be given in the next decade.

CHAPTER II.

THE OLD WAXHAW CHURCH.—The church and congregation whose name stands at the head of this article is one of the oldest in the up-country of South Carolina. Some six or seven families settled in the country known as "the Waxhaws," in Lancaster district, in May, 1751. In the fall of the same year a few more joined them, and a considerable number in 1752, chiefly from Augusta county, Virginia, and the back parts of Pennsylvania. The first grant of land in the settlement was made to Robert McElhenny, in the year 1751, and is known now as "the old Blair place," adjoining the plantation of Dr. Thornwell, called then "the garden of Waxhaw." Many other grants were taken out in 1752. These first settlers were known as "the Pennsylvania Irish," having first settled in that State in their migrations from the north of Ireland. "Those from Pennsylvania," says Mr. Stinson, from whom we now quote, "had resided there sufficiently long to be judges of good land." They settled along the river and creek. The "Scotch-Irish," who came by the way of Charleston, not being judges, settled out on thinner land, and towards the heads of creeks and water-courses. All, however, were of the Pres-

byterian persuasion. Many were in possession of considerable wealth. Many were aged, with children grown up. Their families were often intermarried. The Whites, Fosters, Simpsons, were so connected. There were several families of the name of Dunlap. There were the names of McClanahan, Crocket, Barnett, Miller, Stephenson, the McKees, McIlhennys, Thompsons, Ramsays, and Lattas. Several of the more aged men were probably elders in the churches of Pennsylvania and Virginia, from which they removed. As members of the church they emigrated in search of new homes, and were prepared to organize as a congregation wherever God in his providence might direct their footsteps. Their spirit was that of the ancient patriarch, who, wherever he went, first built an altar unto the Lord. We are not informed when they were first organized as a church. Rev. J. B. Davies says in 1755 or 6, but perhaps it was earlier than this. They were sparsely settled in the wilderness over a considerable area, along the river and creeks, and must have had quite early some common place of assemblage and of worship. They did have a common place of burial. The first tenants have not left a stone standing to tell their names, and the date and exact spot of their interment. It is said that some graves formerly bore the date of 1754, and others of 1758. The first emigrants did not allow themselves to be forgotten. Their spiritual desolations were made known in letters to friends they had left behind in Pennsylvania and Ireland. And it was the custom of presbyteries and synods at the north to send their young licentiates on missionary tours to the new settlements of the south. "The first sermon was preached to us," says Mr. Davis, "by Mr. John Brown, then a probationer from Pennsylvania, in February, 1753. In 1754, we were favored with a visit from Mr. Ray of Williamsburg, South Carolina, and Mr. Tate of Pennsylvania. In 1755, we heard the gospel preached by Messrs. Hogg (or Hoge), McAden, and others from the northward." The McAden here referred to is the Rev. Hugh McAden, who was graduated at Nassau Hall in 1753, and studied with John Blair of Newcastle presbytery. He was sent out by that body immediately after his licensure in 1755, on a mission to the new settlements in the south. We quote from Dr. Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, who has had access to his journal. From Sugar Creek in North Carolina, on Monday, the 20th of October, "he took his journey for Broad river, 'sixty miles to the southward, in company with two young

men, who came thus far to conduct me thither—a *place where never any of our missionaries have been.*'

"On this journey, he passed through the lands of the Catawba Indians. On the first night they prepared to encamp in the woods, about three miles south of the Catawba, 'there being no white man's house on all the road.' This was his first night 'out of doors.' On the next day they passed one of their hunting camps unmolested; but when they stopped to get their breakfast, they were surrounded by a large number of Indians, shouting, and hallooing, and frightening their horses, and rifling their baggage. Accordingly they moved off as fast as possible, without staying to parley; and to their great annoyance, in a little time they passed a second camp of hunters, who prepared to give them a similar reception, calling them to stop from each side of the path. Passing on rapidly, they escaped without harm; and after a ride of twenty-five miles, were permitted to get their breakfast in peace.

"On Sabbath, the 2d of November, he preached 'to a number of those poor baptized infidels, many of whom I was told had never heard a sermon in all their lives before, and yet several of them had families!' This," says Dr. Foote, "seems hardly credible. But he relates an anecdote told him here by an old gentleman, who said to the governor of South Carolina, when he was in those parts, in treaty with the Cherokee Indians, that he 'had never seen a shirt, been in a fair, heard a sermon, or seen a minister in all his life.' Upon which the governor promised to send him up a minister that he might hear one sermon before he died. The minister came and preached; and this was all the preaching that had been heard in the upper part of South Carolina before Mr. McAden's visit.

"How far he penetrated into the State is not known, on account of the loss of a few leaves of the journal. It is very unlikely that he was the first minister the people heard in those neighborhoods; but those who had never heard a sermon were comparatively few, as the mass of the early settlers were of a parentage that taught their children the way to church. There were, however, some settlers from the older parts of the State who had not been much accustomed to any religious forms.

"Friday, the 14th, took my leave of these parts, and set out for the Waxhaws, forty-five miles, good; that night reached Thomas Farrel's, where I lodged till Sabbath-day;

then rode to James Patton's, about two miles, and preached to a pretty large congregation of Presbyterian people. Wednesday, preached again in the same place, and crossed the Catawba river and came to Henry White's.' Here he remained till Sabbath; part of the time sick of the flux, but was able to preach on Sabbath, the 23d, at the 'meeting-house,' five miles off; and went home with Justice Dickens." Mr. Stinson reasons with much probability, that the "Justice Dickens" of McAden's journal was a mistake for Pickens, and that the individual referred to is Andrew Pickens, afterwards a distinguished general in the war of the revolution. "At what particular date Andrew Pickens became a resident of Waxhaw is not known, nor whether any other of the family ever resided there, although the name is kept up in other families unto the present time, *e. g.*, Pickens Davis. The direction from Waxhaw which Mr. McAden would take on his return would conduct him to a plantation up the Waxhaw Creek, now known as 'Pickens Old Fields.' It is certain that he resided in Waxhaw settlement in 1758, and there interested himself in the affairs of the church. Many of the old grants of land of Lancaster, Chester, and other districts, were granted to A. Pickens, and others to Pickens and Rutherford. These were North Carolina grants in Anson county. This region, after settling the line between North and South Carolina, was called 'The New Acquisition,' until laid off into the counties of Lancaster, Chester, York, Union, Spartanburg, etc."

This year, 1755, was the year of the great drought from early in the spring till late in the fall, which McAden mentions as prevailing through Virginia and the Carolinas. It was the year too of Braddock's defeat, (9th of July, 1755.) The murderous savages made inroads through the valley of Virginia. Mr. Craighead, after living in Virginia six years, fled, with such of his people as were disposed to follow him, to Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, and became the first minister of Sugar Creek. The war, pestilence, and famine, that then threatened the colonies, drove many to the more peaceful regions of the Catawba, down to the peace of 1763.

It is evident that a house of worship was already erected at the time of McAden's visit. Mr. Stinson says whether it was built in the first or second year of their settlement is now unknown. The spot fixed for the site was on the plantation of Robert Miller. The church, which was of logs, was built

on the east side of the graveyard, and signs of it are now visible from the road-side.

Our other authority, Mr. Davis, proceeds to say that "during this time the number of inhabitants had considerably increased. We now thought ourselves in a situation that would justify our making application for a stated ministry. The inhabitants of Fishing Creek were now forming themselves into a congregation, and being contiguous, we entered into union with them in 1756, and built houses for worship. We found ourselves far distant from any of the northern presbyteries, and probationers under their care exceedingly few. It appeared to us advisable to put ourselves under the care of the Charlestown presbytery, South Carolina, with a view of obtaining a preacher from Scotland.

"Accordingly Mr. Robert Miller, a probationer, made us a visit in the spring, and we forwarded a call to the presbytery in May, which he accepted and was ordained a minister. He was a man of popular talents and a lively preacher, but in a little more than a year, a charge of too much familiarity with a young woman put a stop to his preaching and left us vacant."

We are able to throw light upon this piece of history from the journal of Mr. Simpson. At the meeting of the Charlestown presbytery, in November, 1755, at which Mr. Simpson acted as moderator, a Mr. Robert Miller, a man "well advanced in years," who had followed the occupation of a schoolmaster, was put on trial for licensure at the request of the people on the Waxhaws. On the 7th of February he was licensed to preach, and was appointed to go as soon as possible to the Waxhaws for settlement. He was to be ordained at Pon Pon on the 16th of June, 1756, with a view to his officiating at Waxhaw, and for a season was to supply at Wilton and Pon Pon. The people at Pon Pon, however, shut the doors against him. He was prevailed upon by Mr. Simpson to preach under the trees. There was reason for this opposition. At the meeting of presbytery in Charleston, June 22d, 1758, Mr. Miller was deposed and was laid under the lesser sentence of excommunication for violating the seventh commandment. It appeared that he had once been deposed by an associate presbytery in Scotland for the same crime. Mr. Simpson subsequently preached at Pon Pon, and read Mr. Miller's sentence of deposition. It was ordered to be read in all the churches throughout the province. It was published in the church at Williamsburg on the same day. It is believed that Mr. Miller repented sincerely of this his sin, and lived

afterwards a virtuous life as a private Christian. Intercession was afterwards made for his restoration to the ministry by the people of Long Cane, who testified to his sincere repentance and regular life, but without success.

It is no small argument for the divine origin of the visible church, that it outlives the imperfection of its members, and the sins and even crimes of those clothed with authority in it. It claims no perfection for the individuals that compose it, but only for the truth it publishes. Neither the passion of Moses, the meekest of men, nor the crimes of David, nor the fall of Peter, have been able to destroy it.

Previous, however, to this *dénouement* and sad termination of Mr. Miller's official life, on the 9th of March, 1758, the congregation of Waxhaw seems to have assembled in full numbers at their house of worship to attend to matters relative to the church. Mr. Miller had sold his plantation to Mr. Barnett, but had reserved four and a half acres, on which the church was built, as sacred to the uses of the congregation. On this day he and his wife Jane executed a lease and release of the land, transferring this tract, on which was the cemetery, church, and spring, to trustees for the Waxhaw congregation. The trustees named in the document are Robert Davies, Robert Ramsay, John Linn, Samuel Dunlap, and Henry White. It is attested by Robert McClanahan, John Crockett, and Andrew Pickens. It states that the land was given in good will to the congregation; that it is to be continued to the Presbyterian church as established in Scotland, and in failure of this, to revert to the original donors; that the trustees are to fill their own vacancies, and in case they fail to do so, it is to be done by the congregation; and that the minister's stipend is to be raised on the seats, the trustees paying the same as others.

In a little more than three months from this, the high hopes of the congregation were dashed by the deposition of their minister.

"We continued destitute of a stated ministry," says Mr. Davis, "and had few supplies until 1759, when Mr. William Richardson, a probationer from the Virginia presbytery, who had been sent a missionary to the Cherokee Indians, on his way out called upon us in February. Finding no probability of success among the Indians, he soon returned to us and preached greatly to our satisfaction. At our instance he put himself under the care of the Charlestown presbytery, and we presented our call, which he accepted, and was

ordained by the presbytery, but not installed to our congregations."

We are now able to trace that course of providential events which gave to the people of Waxhaw this pastor who labored so long and faithfully among them. In Mr. Simpson's diary, which he began at the early age of fourteen, and in the year 1748, in the city of Glasgow, he speaks often of his "dear friend and comrade, W. R." The record often occurs, "Spent the entire afternoon with my friend W. R., in the field, in prayer, praise, and reading God's word." Mr. Simpson entered college in July, 1748, and seems to have spent his Saturdays with his friend, "W. R.," in some retired spot beyond the noise of the city, in acts of devotion. The two friends were brought up under the same ministry and the same influences.

On the 8th of February, 1755, we find him receiving a letter from "his dear comrade, W. R.," the same with whom he had such constant and sweet Christian intercourse while they were fellow students at Glasgow. He too is in America, in Virginia, not yet in the ministry, but has some prospect of it. Their intercourse is now renewed by epistolary correspondence. W. R. is licensed and at last ordained, and has his full share of discouragements and trials. At length, on Monday, April 16th, 1759, we find this entry: "Dear old comrade, W. R., came to my house. He was licensed and ordained by a presbytery in Virginia. Had gone some months ago a missionary to the Cherokee Indians, but finding no good could be done among them, as they were inclined to join the French, he has laid down his mission and accepted an invitation from a people at the Waxhaws, about two hundred miles beyond Charlestown, is come down to join presbytery and accept their call, they being in our bounds." He has much conversation with his "dear comrade," finds he has been only one year employed in public work, and has not been without his share of trouble, affliction, and sickness. Finding his circumstances low, he assists him. He sends him to preach at Pon Pon, and at Port Royal, or Beaufort. On Wednesday, the 16th of May, his comrade is received as a member of presbytery, his people are present with their call, it is accepted, and he is to be installed in the autumn. Presbytery being over, he accompanies his dear comrade some distance on his way, and parts with him six miles from Charleston. Thus the two college friends, that had studied and prayed together in Glasgow, and had gone to the house

of God in company, meet in America, and commence a ministry on these shores, which was to be continued for years, and to be owned by the Master of assemblies. The comrade of Mr. Simpson was no other than William Richardson, who now became pastor of the Waxhaw church, the first church, we believe, above Orangeburg, to enjoy full gospel ordinances.

William Richardson was born in the year 1729, at Egremont, near Whitehaven, in England, from which place his sister Mary removed when she came to America. His father is said to have been a man of wealth, which was inherited by his eldest son, who was wild, extravagant, and dissipated. William was the youngest of the family, whose whole inheritance was the education he received. The companion of Archibald Simpson in the University of Glasgow, he seems to have graduated earlier than he, as his name ceases to be mentioned in the diary of the latter for some considerable time before *his* academic life was finished. At the age of twenty-one, Mr. Richardson came to America, and landed in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1750. He became a resident in the family of the Rev. Samuel Davies of Virginia, whose name is so distinguished in the annals of the Presbyterian church and pulpit. Davies, in writing to his correspondents in Scotland, speaks of him as being then under his roof, and as ready to assist him in distributing the books sent out by the Glasgow society. He was taken on trial by Hanover presbytery, June 9th, 1757, and was licensed at a meeting at Capt. Anderson's in Cumberland, Virginia, January 25th, 1758. On the 18th of July, 1758, at the first meeting of that presbytery after the union of the synods of New York and Philadelphia, held in Cumberland, he was ordained as a missionary to the Cherokee Upper Towns, to which he, as well as Mr. Martin, was sent, by an understanding between the Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England and the Society in Scotland for Propagating Religious Knowledge. Mr. Davies, with whom he studied theology, preached the sermon at his ordination. Henry Patillo, also a student of Samuel Davies, and afterwards a pastor in Orange and Granville counties, was ordained with him.--(Webster, p. 674.) He was appointed to perform the installation services of Alexander Craighead at Rocky river in North Carolina, who had occupied an exposed position in Augusta county, Virginia, and after Braddock's defeat, on the 9th of July, 1755, fled with such of his congregation as were able to fly, and settled in Mecklenburg, in North Carolina,

and became the first minister of a congregation on Sugar Creek, by which name the congregation was afterwards known. Mr. Martin had been appointed previously to preside at the installation of Mr. Craighead; but failing to do it, the duty was performed by Mr. Richardson on the 27th of September, 1758, on his way to the Cherokees. Mr. Richardson's stay in that neighborhood must have been scarcely more than six months, since he arrived at the residence of Mr. Simpson in the low-country of South Carolina on the 16th of April following, 1759. The Cherokees took up arms through the instigation of the French, and the mission to them was abandoned. In 1761, he is reported as having left Hanover presbytery, and joined the presbytery in South Carolina not in connection with the synod. In 1762, the presbytery of Hanover sustained his reasons for joining the presbytery of South Carolina without a dismission from his own.

Mr. Richardson married Nancy Craighead, one of the six daughters of the Rev. Alexander Craighead, said to have been a lady of great beauty and talent, and to have possessed much of her father's spirit. Already, at the close of 1758, Mr. Richardson is thought to have made his arrangements to settle in this congregation. His installation was appointed by the presbytery of Charleston to take place in the fall of 1759. Mr. Richardson's labors were by no means confined to his congregation at Waxhaw, but pursuing his vocation as a missionary, he extended them widely through the Catawba region, which was already becoming occupied more and more by clusters of settlers.*

Another instance occurred in 1758 of the remote settlement of a minister, under the supervision of the presbytery of South Carolina, among the Scotch settlers upon the Cape Fear, in North Carolina. In 1747, Neill McNeill of Argyleshire, Scotland, visited Wilmington, and ascended the Cape Fear as far

* MS. account of the Waxhaw church, prepared at the request of Presbytery under the order of the General Assembly, signed John Davis, session clerk, Waxhaw, April 5th, 1794; Rev. J. B. Davies' Sketches of Bethel Presbytery; MS. of Daniel Green Stinson, Esq.; Foote's N. C., pp. 169, 170; Diary of Archibald Simpson.

† The successors to the original trustees have been William Davis, Robert Montgomery, Robert Dunlap, William Carns, Nathan Barr, James Dunlap. After this, the trustees having died out, the congregation held an election, during the pastorate of Edward Palmer, and elected John Foster, B. S. Massey, Robert Crockett, D. Dunlap, and — Gamble. The lease of the church lot was recorded in the Registry Office of Anson county, N. C.—(Book D., No. 4, pp. 371, 375, the 17th of September, 1759.)

as Lower Little river, exploring the country. In the neighborhood of Heart's Creek, now known as Fayetteville, he found William Gray, Nathaniel Platt, and another man by the name of Russell. The former of these had entered land as early as 1732. In the spring of 1749 he landed in Wilmington with about three hundred emigrants—men, women, and children—from the Highlands of Scotland. The people of Wilmington, struck by their unusual dress, speech, and wild gesticulations, required Mr. McNeill to enter into a bond for their peaceable and good behavior. This Mr. McNeill contrived to evade, and ascending the Cape Fear with his companions, he settled them in the neighborhood of Fayetteville, the Bluff, and Little rivers. In 1749, Baliol of Jura ran a vessel between Cambelltown, Scotland, and Wilmington, and the number of emigrants increased yearly. Thus commenced the "Scotch Settlement" of North Carolina, which for many years remained emphatically an *isolated people*. Hugh McAden, in his journal, published in Foote's Sketches, says: "On Sabbath, the 25th, [Jan., 1756], I rode to Hector McNeill's (evidently the 'Bluff,') and preached to a number of Highlanders—some of them scarcely knew one word I said—the poorest singers I have ever heard in all my life. Wednesday, rode up to Alexander McKay's, upon the Yadkin road, thirty miles, (where Long-street church is now located). Thursday, preached to a small congregation, mostly Highlanders, who were very much obliged to me for coming, and highly pleased with my discourse, though, alas, I am afraid it was all feigned and hypocritical." This he feared because some stayed around the house all night and engaged in drinking, in spite of his remonstrances. In 1745 "the veteran warriors of Preston Pans, the Clansmen of Lochiel and Glengary," gathered around the standard of Charles Edward the Pretender, and were at length defeated, as we have before repeated, at the battle of Culloden. They were driven away, as we have seen, with bitter and relentless retribution. Instead of settling in South Carolina, under the guidance of Neill McNeill, they ascended the Cape Fear river, and sat down with their countrymen who had preceded them.

James Campbell was born at Campbellton-on-Kintyre, in Argyleshire, came to America in 1730, was licensed, probably by Newcastle presbytery, in 1735, was "well received" by the Philadelphia presbytery, May 22d, 1739; preached at Newtown and Tinicum, in Buck's county, Pennsylvania, until, under a

spiritual despondency, he came to believe himself unconverted, and told the synod that he dared not preach till he was born again. Whitefield had much conversation with him, and by his efforts and those of Tennent he was persuaded to resume his ministerial duties. He was ordained in 1752, and installed at Tinicum, or Tehicken, in 1744. His pastoral relation was dissolved in 1749. He seems to have preached afterwards in Lancaster county, on the Conecocheague, to a Scotch congregation. To him McAden recited the spiritual wants of his countrymen on the Cape Fear, and in 1757 "he took up his residence in their midst, on the left bank of the river, thirteen miles above Fayetteville, nearly opposite the Bluff church, on the plantation where, almost within sight, his mortal remains now rest." In 1758 he was dismissed from the presbytery of Newcastle, within whose bounds he last labored, to join the presbytery of South Carolina. It was made one of the conditions of his settlement, specified in the call, that he should, "as soon as his convenience permit, accept of our call, to be presented to him by the Rev. Presbytery of South Carolina, and be by them engaged to the solemn duty of a pastor for us." "On his own plantation," says the authority to which we are chiefly indebted for these facts, "beneath the shade of his own lofty oaks, Mr. Campbell first preached Christ and him crucified, and through him pointed out the way of salvation to his famishing countrymen. The tidings that a Gaelic preacher had settled in their midst sped throughout the 'Scotch settlement' almost with the speed of the fiery cross in the Highlands, when sent to summon the clansmen to the fight. Soon multitudes came to hear the word expounded, and to listen to the accents of his Highland tongue."—(A Centenary Sermon, by Rev. Neill McKay, and a Centennial Historical Address, before the Presbytery of Fayetteville, at the Bluff church, the 18th day of October, 1858, by James Banks, Esq., Fayetteville, 1858.)

The germ of the FAIRFOREST CHURCH, in the district of Union, on the waters of a large creek of the same name which falls into the Tyger river, a branch of Broad river, was planted at the same time. The site of the church is half a mile below where the line between Spartanburg and Union crosses the Fairforest creek. The first house of worship was half a mile eastward of the present one, on a lot now enclosed as a cemetery. The church dates its origin from some seven or eight families who emigrated from Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, from the year 1751 to 1754. Among the first emigrants were

George Story, James McIlwaine, and one by the name of Dugan. Their first place of encampment was on a commanding eminence about two miles east of Glenn's Springs. A beautiful valley stretched far in the distance, a grove of lofty trees concealed the meandering of a stream which fertilized the tract below. The rays of the declining sun shed their departing beams on the tree-tops that waved over the wide amphitheatre in the evening breeze. One of the two, McIlwaine, it is said, exclaimed: "What a *fair forest* this!" The name attached itself to the place, and then to the bold and lovely stream, which, rising in the mountains, sweeps on, dispensing fertility and refreshment to the central portions of this and the neighboring districts below.

These forests were not unpeopled. The buffalo, deer, and other wild game, the panther, the wild-cat, the wolf and bear, and other beasts of prey, filling the night with their dismal cries, roamed through them; the beaver, architect and engineer together, built his works across the cold streams, and birds of varied plumage sang through the day and night around them.

What was true here was true throughout the country in which these early churches were planted. It was, indeed, a goodly land, a "land of rivers of water," "of springs sent into the valleys which run among the hills," of forests goodly like Lebanon, or the oaks of Bashan, with their grassy carpet or their tangled vines; of wooded mountains, or rolling hills, or undulating plains, or prairies covered with a rich growth of cane. The margins of many streams almost equalled the cane-brakes of the Southwest. These facts are established by the names which many of the streams in the up-country still bear, as Reedy River, Reedy Fork, Cane Creek, and Long Canes. The cane growth of the country was, we are told, the standard, to many, of the fertility of the soil; a growth twenty or thirty feet high denoting the highest fertility, and that no higher than a man's head, a more ordinary soil.—(Logan's History of Upper South Carolina.)

The aborigines had done the country no injury. So far as they produced any effect, it was to increase the natural fertility of the soil. They burned the woods at proper seasons to destroy the undergrowth and promote the springing of wild grasses. So rich and abundant was the pasturage that stock of all kinds increased and fattened without the expense of feeding.

These immigrants were all Presbyterians, some of them of respectable attainments in knowledge, and all attached to the faith of their fathers, and desirous of enjoying the ordinances

of the gospel. In 1754 they were visited by the Rev. Joseph Tate, then pastor of Donegal, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, whence they had emigrated, and in the year following by the Rev. Daniel Thane of New Jersey, who preached to them under the shadow of a spreading oak. Mr. Tate was sent out by the synod of Philadelphia, and Mr. Thane by the synod of New York. In the same year they were visited by Hugh McAden, who preached to them one sermon. In the absence of ministers of the gospel, the flame of piety was kept burning by a diligent attention to family religion, and by social gatherings called "society meetings," which were held in the church or in private houses, for worship, reading the Holy Scriptures and sermons, and catechising.—(Records of the Pres. Ch., pp. 210, 260; MS. Hist. in hands of Stated Clerk of Gen. Ass.; MS. Hist. by Mr. Saye; do. by Rev. A. A. James.)

FISHING CREEK was first settled in 1749, 1750, and 1751, the first inhabitants of this congregation being persons chiefly from Pennsylvania, and professing the Presbyterian faith. In the winter of 1752 a sermon was preached at Landsford, on the west side of the Catawba river, by a Rev. Mr. Brown from Virginia, and in the winter following the Rev. Mr. Rae from Black river, at their request, paid them a visit, and baptized several children. At or about this time they began to be constituted as a regular congregation, and about the year 1755 presented a call to the South Carolina presbytery for the services of the Rev. Mr. Miller, who preached in two meeting-houses, one on each side of the river, until the fall of 1757, when he was silenced. During the season that the church was vacant they were favored with a visit from the Rev. Mr. Campbell and Rev. Mr. Alison. About the year 1758 they were visited by the Rev. Wm. Richardson, on his way from Virginia to Charlestown. Being encouraged by him, they sent a call to the South Carolina presbytery, which he had then joined, and obtained his services.—(MS. Sketch of Fishing Creek Church, by Samuel Neely, dated March 31st, 1794.)

CATHOLIC CONGREGATION occupies a portion of country in the southeastern part of Chester county, the whole region around being drained by Rocky Creek and its affluents. Tradition informs us that white men were settled on the Catawba, near the mouth of Rocky Creek, as early as 1732. If this is so, we should suppose it could only be the settlement of some adventurous Indian traders quite in advance of the white population. In about 1751 or 52 there was an emigration from Pennsylvania of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and

also from Virginia, some of whom had formerly been of the Church of England. The progress of settlement was slow till 1755, when in consequence of Braddock's defeat and the incursion of the Indians, the whole country of Upper Carolina began to receive refugees from Pennsylvania and Virginia. These settlers opened communications with their friends in Ireland, and a direct immigration from that country commenced, which reached its height perhaps in 1768. The principal inhabitants active in forming the congregation were Messrs. Thomas Garret, John Lee, Alexander McQuown, and Hugh McDonald. The congregation was formed by the labors of Mr. Richardson, who gave it the name Catholic. Mr. Richardson did not visit the Waxhaws till 1758, nor take charge of that congregation till 1759. This is said to be the date of its organization.

"The beginnings of the churches of INDIAN CREEK and of GRASSY SPRING, near Maybinton, in Newberry district, date back to a like early period. The original founders emigrated from Pennsylvania in the years 1749-1758. Several professors of the Presbyterian denomination having settled successively on Enoree river, Indian Creek, and Tyger river, which are all near each other in this part of the State, they were first visited with a preached gospel in 1755, by the Rev. Mr. McKadden," [McAden], who "preached them one sermon only."—(MS. Hist., written April 7th, 1794.) "On Monday," says Hugh McAden in his Journal, (Sketches of North Carolina, p. 170,) "the 10th of November, 1755, returned about twenty miles, to James Atterson's on Tyger river; preached on Tuesday, *which was the first they had ever heard in these parts*, but I hope it will not be the last, for there are men in all these places, blessed be God, some at least, that have a great desire of hearing the gospel preached. Next day rode to James Love's, on Broad river. Thursday, preached." The name spelled Atterson should have been Otterson. He was probably the father of Major S. Otterson, who had settled a little before this on Tyger river a few miles above Hamilton's ford. Families of the name of Hamilton were among the first settlers, and Presbyterians.—(Rev. James H. Saye. MS. Account.) Another account says, "they were first visited by a Presbyterian minister, whose name is now unknown, in the year 1758 or 59. He preached at Jacob Pennington's, on Indian Creek, and baptized several children." If this date is correct, it refers to some other visit than McAden's. We find that Mr. Benjamin Hait was appointed by the synod of New York, in 1757, to supply the southern vacancies. They recommended

the presbytery of Newcastle to send another, and the presbytery of Hanover to send another, when Mr. Hait shall come to them. And it may have been one of these.—(Records of the Presbyterian Church, p. 279.) By such labors, and among such a people, the churches of Grassy Spring and Indian Creek subsequently arose.

One great source of confusion, as we conduct our researches, is the different ecclesiastical organizations, springing up sometimes contemporaneously, more often successively in the same general community, the dates of which as organizations are made coeval with the settlement itself. Religious people occupying a new country, worship God in their households first, then in social assemblies of limited numbers, eventually in ecclesiastical organizations, and these not always permanent, but one giving place to another, as population extends itself in different directions, and families move from their original seats. This we have found true in several neighborhoods, and one among others is the upper corner of Newberry district and the adjoining corner of Laurens, where the waters of the Enoree and its affluents, King's Creek, Gilder's Creek, Indian Creek, Duncan's Creek, on the one side, and Tyger on the other, and the neighborhood of Grassy Spring, are in such proximity, and where the same general population covers the whole space. Different organizations have existed here, and to each of them there is a tendency to ascribe the date of the earliest settlement. It may be said that the original founders of Grassy Spring church, now extinct, emigrated from Pennsylvania in 1749 to 1758; but this will not make the organization so old as is thus indicated. Pennington's grant on Enoree dates, it is believed, in 1751, or possibly earlier. Pennington's Fort, erected as a protection against the Indians, was on Indian Creek. Duncan's settlement on Duncan's Creek was begun in 1752: the portion between Enoree and Tyger probably earlier. Bearing these remarks in mind, we will better understand the statements which follow. A church was organized at Indian Creek in the next decade, but a full organization at either locality is not a matter of record so early as this.

UNION CHURCH, though not *organized* so early, dates its first planting back to this period. It was situated near the centre of Union district. The first settlement was made in 1754 and 1755, by emigrants from Pennsylvania, who had lived under the ministry of Rev. Mr. Cathcart. Several heads of families, among whom were Messrs. Brandon, Brogan, Jolly, Kennedy, and McJunkin, settled in a then uninhabited wild, not far from the spot on which Union meeting-house afterwards stood.

They lived in tents until they got cabins erected. Several of these adventurers were truly pious, and they frequently met on the Lord's-day for reading the Scriptures, still hoping to be visited by some of their own ministers.

The settlements on Duncan's Creek and Long Canes were already commenced; but as the history of those churches properly begins at a later period, we defer further notice till we treat of the ten following years, from 1760 to 1770.

CHAPTER III.

SUCH are the facts we have been able to discover relating to the Presbyterian and the Independent churches of this State, united in their history, and adhering, the one closely, the other more loosely, to the Westminster Confession. Mr. Simpson mentions two other ministers, Rev. Mr. Munroe, chaplain to a Highland regiment in Charleston (March 19th, 1758), and Mr. Bennett, a probationer, whose "sweet gospel sermon" he heard January 6th, 1759. We have found the presbytery usually meeting in the city of Charleston, with a jurisdiction somewhat extensive, and ruling with some authority. Mr. Simpson was appointed by them to read a letter to the Pon Pon church, reproving them for employing Mr. Hutson, "a worthy Independent minister," which he did, much against his will, April 22d, 1757. "Read the letter without comment. The people were greatly surprised and displeased." Mr. Whitefield spent but fifteen months in America in the ten years; seven of which were in Georgia, with frequent visits to Carolina. He was either employed in his delightful work of "gospel ranging," as he was fond of calling his itinerant preaching, or engaged in building his new tabernacles at London, Bristol, Norwich, and his chapel at Tottenham Court. He had also become a preacher, as early as 1748, to persons of the most distinguished rank, who flocked to the drawing-room of the Countess of Huntington, where he preached to them with the utmost faithfulness and the most thrilling eloquence. Thither were drawn persons the most unlikely to attend his ministry, such as the Earl of Chesterfield, Horace Walpole, Lord Bolingbroke, and David Hume. The latter said he would go twenty miles to hear him. The brother of Bolingbroke became a convert, and died in the hope of the gospel. He had conceived the idea of convert-

ing the orphan-house at Bethesda into a college. He had declared his intention, provided the honorable trustees would put the colony on another footing, and allow the introduction of negroes, without which Georgia could never be a flourishing province.

The measures pursued by the actors in the "Great Awakening," and the resistance it met with, had divided the Presbyterian church of the north into the "Old Side" and the "New Side," into the synod of Philadelphia and the synod of New York. But both were alike men of probity, piety, and soundness in the faith; and after seventeen years of separation, this schism was healed, the "Old" and "New Side" coalesced, and the synod of New York and Philadelphia took the place of the separate jurisdictions. In this division the Presbyterians of South Carolina, whatever may have been their private views, took no active part.

The outward events which disturbed the peace of our people arose from the proximity of their Indian neighbors and the overshadowing power of France on this continent. England occupied the Atlantic slope, but claimed to the Pacific. France had settled the Canadas and Louisiana, and held the country bordering on the Mexican Gulf, as far as Mobile. She claimed the Mississippi and its tributaries, had her line of forts from Canada to New Orleans, and her traders and Jesuit missionaries dispersed among the Indian tribes. She had settled Nova Scotia under the name of Acadia. It was conquered by the English, but long neglected, and alternately ceded to France and reconquered. New England troops, led on by Peperell, for whose flag Whitefield had given for a motto, *Nil desperandum, Christo duce*, had taken Louisburg, and in 1749 the English had laid the foundations of Halifax.

The French settlers who were of the Romish faith, had been required to take the oath of allegiance to the British crown or leave the country. To this the Acadians consented, if they should not be obliged to take up arms against the French or their Indian allies; but the government required an unconditional oath or an immediate departure. To this the Acadians refused their assent. They claimed to be neutral, and were called "the French neutrals." They are represented as devoted to the peaceful pursuits of the shepherd, the herdsman, and the agriculturist; as dwelling in neat and well-constructed houses, having large possessions of flocks and herds, and living almost in a land of enchantment, in harmony and peace, under the care and control of their own priests.

Their disputes were settled among themselves, domestic virtue prevailed, and the law of kindness and mutual aid reigned abroad. They had increased in numbers until they amounted to sixteen or seventeen thousand. In their ignorance of English laws they were defenceless. Their arms and boats were taken from them. By a general proclamation the males above ten years of age were required to assemble at their respective posts. At Grand Prè, as one instance, four hundred and eighteen met together and were marched into the church, and its avenues closed and guarded. Winslow, the American commander, gave them the astounding information that their lands, tenements, and live-stock, of all kinds, were forfeited to the crown, and that they were to be removed from the province. Their wives, their sons—in number five hundred and twenty-seven—their daughters—five hundred and seventy-six—in all one thousand nine hundred and twenty-three souls, in this single community, were driven forth by force. The 10th of September, 1755, was fixed on for their embarkation. They were drawn up six deep. The young men were ordered first to march on board the vessel. They were unarmed, at the point of the bayonet, and there was no resistance. They marched slowly and sadly from the chapel to the shore, between kneeling women and children, sending their cries to heaven in their behalf. The old men followed. The women and children must remain behind for other means of transportation. They were scattered through the colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia. Families were thus separated, and the colonial newspapers contained advertisements of sons anxious to meet with and relieve their parents, and of parents seeking for their children. The cry of Rachel, the mother of the Benjaminites, went up,—of Rachel weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted, because they were not. To prevent their return, their houses, barns, mills, and churches were consumed. "For several successive evenings, the cattle assembled amid the ruins where they had been sheltered, as if in anxious expectation of the return of their masters, while all night long the faithful watch-dogs of the neutrals howled over the scene of desolation, and mourned alike the hand that had fed, and the hand that had sheltered them." "It was the hardest case," said one of the sufferers, "which had happened since our Saviour was upon earth." Their flocks and herds were at last seized for spoils, the forests took possession of their cultivated fields, the ocean broke through their neglected dykes. Seven

thousand of these people were banished to the different colonies, one thousand and twenty to South Carolina alone. They were pursued with hatred in the provinces whither they were carried.

The Journals of the House of Assembly speak with dread of their presence in the province, as men tainted with pernicious principles. The South Carolina Gazette frequently speaks of them, generally in the language of prejudice. Some leave the province and go off in boats and canoes for the north. Most of those sent to Georgia left for Carolina; on one occasion two hundred going off in ten rude boats which they had constructed, hoping to reach, by threading the coast, once more their beloved Acadia. The governor and council offered them vessels at the public charge to transport themselves elsewhere, and many went to France, some to Canada, others to Louisiana; in one direction and another they were eventually dispersed. To those who escaped to Louisiana, lands were assigned above New Orleans, in what is still known as the Acadian Coast. A few remained in the colonies, some of whom recovered from their despondency and became useful citizens. The family of Lanneau, in Charleston, who embraced the Protestant faith, have been long recognized for their devoted piety and active efforts for the cause of Christ. Two of them, Rev. John F. Lanneau, long a missionary to Jerusalem, and Basil Edward Lanneau, for some years Hebrew tutor in the Theological Seminary at Columbia, and afterwards professor in the Oakland College, Mississippi, have been favorably known in this generation.

The treatment of the Acadians was perhaps aggravated by the disastrous defeat of Braddock in his attempt on Fort Duquesne, July 9th, 1755. The effects of this on the settlement of the up-country of Carolina were very manifest. The western frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia were exposed to Indian depredations, and the settlers, a large share of whom were Presbyterians, removed for safety further south, away from the influence of the French. The French succeeded too in expelling the English from their ancient post of Oswego, and from Lake George, and Fort William Henry surrendered to the French general Montcalm. "Of the North American continent, the French claimed and seemed to possess twenty parts in twenty-five, leaving four only to Spain, and but one to Britain."

Both Mr. Simpson and Mr. Hutson allude to the sad state of things. "Everything," says the former, "looks awful and

dreadful, and all against us; a very hardened and sinful people, laden with iniquity." "Alas! it seems," says Mr. Hutson, "as if to the end of the war desolations were determined! May God have mercy upon us, and if suffering times are coming on, may he give suffering grace to all his people."

The tables were turned when William Pitt became prime minister. Louisburg was first taken, and the power of France fell on the eastern coast. Fort Frontenac succumbed before the vigorous attack of Bradstreet. Fort Duquesne was captured by Washington, and, in honor of the distinguished minister at the head of affairs, was by acclamation named Pittsburg. In 1759 Quebec surrendered to the heroic conduct of Wolfe, who lost his life on the heights of Abraham; and the power of Catholic France was at an end on the continent of North America.

All would now have been peace; but the royalist governor of South Carolina was bent on war with the Cherokees, who had assisted in the capture of Fort Duquesne. Having lost their horses, many of them took, in passing through Virginia, such as fell in their way. The Virginians assailed them, and killed twelve or fourteen of their number. They became excited by this conduct towards those who were allies, and on arriving at their homes, parties of young warriors, contrary to the remonstrance of the chiefs, sallied forth and murdered and scalped whoever fell in their way.

The Indians now regarded their accounts balanced, and would have remained at peace. They sent thirty-two of their chiefs to Charleston to settle these matters. But Governor Lyttleton determined on war, and refused to treat on any terms. He ordered the officers of the militia to collect their men and stand to arms. On Friday, the 12th of October, 1759, Mr. Simpson writes: "Early this morning an alarm was fired by the discharge of three muskets at every dwelling-place in the province. This seems very terrible. All the men immediately repaired with their arms to a public place of muster, and there the one half were drafted and ordered to be in readiness at an hour's warning to march against the Indians. God in his holy providence so ordered it that the draft to go out did not fall on me, for ministers, both of the establishment and dissenters, are obliged to be under arms and stand their draft, none being excepted. It was a serious time among us." The troops rendezvoused at the Congarees. Marion was there, then twenty-six years of age; and Christopher Gadsden, at the head of an artillery company which he had just raised.

The Cherokees had accompanied the army thus far. Here they were made prisoners; a captain's guard was put over them, and they were marched to Fort George, full of resentment at the treatment they had received, and were shut up in a hut hardly sufficient for a half-dozen soldiers. Lyttleton sent for Attakulla, an aged chief, and demanded that the twenty-four men who had been guilty of the murders should be delivered up to him, to be punished for their deeds. Attakulla replied that he had ever been the firm friend of the English, and had only now returned from a long and fatiguing expedition to aid them against their enemies, the French. That notwithstanding these things they had been cruelly treated in Virginia by those in whose behalf they had taken up arms; that though he would use his influence with his tribe, they had no power over each other, and he did not believe that the demand of the governor could be complied with. Under the importunities of the governor, who was desirous of finishing his campaign with credit, a treaty was signed between himself and six of the head men; one of the provisions of which was, that the twenty-two chiefs now in confinement should remain prisoners till the murderers who had escaped were delivered up. It is doubtful if the men who set their mark to these provisions entirely understood them. Certain it is that the nation paid no regard to the treaty afterward. Their chiefs sent as ambassadors to treat of peace, and to whom the governor had guaranteed a safe conduct, and that not a hair of their heads should be touched on their way to their homes, were miserable captives. The natural sense of justice of these untutored savages was outraged, and they were ready for vengeance.

BOOK TENTH.

1760-1770.

CHAPTER I.

THE governor returned to Charleston on the 8th of January, and was received as a conqueror, though returning from a bloodless war. Flattering addresses were presented to him by different societies and professions, and bonfires and illuminations testified to the public joy. The Presbyterian clergy among others were present with "their humble address."

“May it please your Excellency,” they say, “We be his Majesty’s loyal subjects, the Ministers of the Church in this province, having ordination from the established Church of Scotland, and beg leave to congratulate your Excellency on your safe return from your expedition to the Cherokee Nation. And we return our unfeigned thanks to the Almighty for your Preservation and Success in a campaign attended with so many Difficulties and Dangers,” &c.

The terms in which they proceed to express themselves are sufficiently flattering, believing, as they did, in the permanency of the seeming peace which was so soon to end, and filled, no doubt, with the prevailing resentment. The names attached to the address are twelve in number :

Patrick Kier,	John Baxter,
John Alison,	John McLeod,
James Campbell,	John Rae,
William Richardson,	Charles Lorimer,
Charles Gordon,	Archibald Simpson,
John Martin,	Philip Morison.

Charlestown, 11th January, 1760.

The hoped for peace was but a delusion. The young braves who had shed the blood of the settlers, had only been avenging in their own way the wrongs of their people, and could not be given up.

One thing led to another. An attempt was made to rescue the commissioners of the Cherokees, whose persons Lyttleton had seized and held as hostages at Fort Prince George. The commander of the fort was enticed into a parley with a chief at the river-side, and was shot down with the two officers that accompanied him. An attempt was made to secure the persons of the commissioners, which, meeting with resistance, the garrison put them to death. The blood of the Indians was now up. The leaders in every town seized the tomahawk, and told their warriors “that the spirits of their murdered brothers were hovering around them and crying for vengeance.” They fell upon the defenceless settlements, and men, women, and children were cruelly murdered. Such as fled to the woods perished with hunger, and those who were taken as captives were carried into the wilderness and suffered incredible hardships. The inhabitants of Long Canes, in what is now Abbeville district, fled for refuge to the older and more protected parts of the country. A party, of whom Patrick Calhoun was one, who were removing their wives, children, and most valuable effects to Augusta for safety, were

attacked by the Cherokees on the 1st of February, 1760, and some fifty persons, mostly women and children, were slain. After the massacre, many children were found wandering in the woods. One man brought nine of these fugitives—some of whom had been cut with tomahawks and left for dead. Others were found on the bloody field scalped, yet living still. Two little girls, daughters of Mr. William Calhoun, brother of Patrick, were carried into captivity. The elder of them was, after some years, rescued; the other was never heard of. “The scene of the melancholy catastrophe is on a descent, just before reaching Patterson’s bridge. Attacked at the moment when they had stopped to make an encampment, and entangled by their wagons, they could offer but little resistance. Some, however, were so fortunate as to escape. Cutting loose the horses, and favored by the night, they fled to the Waxhaws, with another portion of the company which was in advance. Among the slain was the mother of the family, Mrs. Catharine Calhoun; and a curious stone, engraved by a native artist, marks the spot where she fell among her children and neighbors.”—(MS. Hist., by Mrs. M. E. Davis.) Patrick Calhoun, who returned to the place where the action had happened, to bury the dead, found twenty dead bodies inhumanly mangled. The Indians had set fire to the woods, had rifled the carts and wagons, which were thirteen in number, but had not destroyed them. Patrick Calhoun represented this settlement, at this time, as amounting to about two hundred and fifty souls, fifty-five or sixty of whom were fighting men, but they were not now in a condition to resist. In this incursion of the Indians, the grandfather of Mr. Samuel Clark, late of Beech Island, was killed, and other members of his family. The wife and four children escaped. This sad news filled the whole province with consternation. “People,” says Mr. Simpson, “seem stupefied with horror and amazement.” At his meetings for prayer he notices “their melancholy, amazed, and overwhelmed state, the spiritual effect on most being to harden and stupefy, on others of a truly pious spirit, to drive them to their Creator and Preserver.” “The men were now summoned to the muster-field, where the companies were divided into three parties, one to go out at a time to scout the woods behind us. This is what is doing throughout the province, until an army be raised to march against the enemy.” “Lord’s-day, February 17th—The congregation confused and distracted. Fear had so seized upon the people as in a great measure to discompose them for the duties of

the day. With others it was a very solemn and affecting time. What made it more so was to see so many poor, destitute families present with us, without habitation or dwelling-place."

To these troubles were added the ravages of the small-pox. The South Carolina Gazette, under date of March 22d, speaks of six thousand persons in Charleston as having had the small-pox, and says that five hundred alone remain to be attacked. The chief mortality had been among the Acadians and negroes. Three hundred and eighty whites and three hundred and fifty negroes had died. Rev. Mr. Hutson of Charleston notices the same afflictive events, and speaks of the goodness of God to him "in this day of general calamity." "He has provided an ark for my family, I hope, to preserve them from the contagious disorder, and has also hitherto preserved the remote branches of my family from the incursions of the savages." He had removed his immediate family to James Island. "Find some of the fugitives," says Simpson, "who were settled at the Long Canes to be very sober, serious, sensible, religious people. There is one family among them who seem to be amongst the most excellent knowing Christians I ever met with in America. I have baptized some young people and some children for them; and have great satisfaction in administering the ordinances to them, they being the best-instructed young people I have ever met with in these parts of the world." The fort at 96 was attacked by two hundred and fifty savages, but unsuccessfully. Several of their warriors fell. "We fatten our dogs with their carcasses," said Francis to Lyttleton, "and display their scalps neatly ornamented on the tops of our bastions." Such is the retaliatory spirit of war. They drew nearer to the middle of the province. Two men were killed and scalped in the forks of the Edisto, ten miles from Congaree Creek, and another on the following day. These things increased the general dismay. "The destruction approaches near us. Poor families in droves," says Simpson, "removing in the most melancholy circumstances, not knowing where to go, and meeting with but too little sympathy and support among those who are safe in their habitations. Yet it is a pleasure that I have seen some of the fruits of the last Sabbath's sermon to engage this congregation to help them, as not knowing how soon it may be our own case."

In the month of April, General Amherst detached six hundred Highlanders and six hundred Royal Scots to march to the relief of Carolina, under the command of Colonel

Montgomery and Major Grant. A number of Carolinians joined the expedition, and seven companies of rangers had before been raised to co-operate with him. His march was rapid, and the vengeance summary. Their towns and villages, occupying the beautiful valley of the Keowee, were reduced to ashes, their magazines of corn consumed, some sixty to eighty slain, and forty, chiefly women and children, made prisoners.

"Their villages were agreeably situated, their houses neatly built and well provided, for they were in the greatest abundance of everything. Estatoe and Sugar Town consisted at least of two hundred houses, and every other village at least of one hundred houses. We intended to save Sugar Town, but we found the body of a dead man whom they put to the torture that very morning; it was then no longer possible to think of mercy."—(James Grant, *South Carolina Gazette*, June 7th, 1760.)—These settlements occupied the districts of Anderson and Pickens, in South Carolina, and Cherokee and Macon, in North Carolina. The care of his wounded and the general plan of his expedition occasioned his rapid retreat. This sealed the doom of Fort Loudon and its garrison of two hundred. Famished with hunger, they capitulated to the savages, and were allowed to march forth on their return to Carolina. On the very next day they were surrounded. Demere, the commander, three other officers, and twenty-three privates, the exact number of the hostages which Governor Lyttleton had detained in custody, were killed. The rest were distributed among the tribes, and the whole number of captives they were supposed to possess was believed to amount to three hundred souls. The expedition of Montgomery had but inflamed the savage warriors the more. They boasted that they had forced the army to retreat.

These Indian troubles were brought to a close in the following year, 1761. Canada having been reduced, General Amherst despatched an English regiment, under the command of Colonel James Grant, with two companies from New York. Governor Bull raised a Carolina regiment of one thousand men, under the command of Colonel Thomas Middleton. Henry Laurens was the lieutenant-colonel; William Moultrie was one of the captains, and Francis Marion a lieutenant under his command. Andrew Pickens, and others whose names were afterwards distinguished, served in this expedition. The army of Colonel Grant suffered much in this campaign, but they burned the towns and hamlets of the outside settlement on the Tennessee, laid waste their planta-

tions and their extensive magazines of corn, and drove four thousand of their people to wander in the forests without a home. They were completely humbled, and sued for peace. They continued still to inhabit their territories in what is now Anderson, Pickens, and Greenville districts, down to the war of the Revolution.

Of all the settlers, we apprehend the Presbyterians suffered the most deeply from these Indian cruelties, for the upper and frontier settlements of the European colonists were composed most largely of them.

We will now proceed to give such facts connected with the history of the several churches as we have been able to gather. THE INDEPENDENT CHURCH in Charleston was still served by Rev. James Edmonds and William Hutson. The diary of the latter, his many expressions, either of penitence or religious enjoyment, manifested ever his sincere devotion to his ministerial work. At the opening of the year 1760, he speaks of having long survived his expectations. "Behold," says he, "I am still a monument of sparing mercy. However, I have cause enough to be still mindful of my mortality, for I am in a declining state, and 'tis very likely that this year I may die." He, however, outlived this year, which still was one of deep affliction to himself. In February he removed his family to James Island to escape the small-pox raging in the city, but Mrs. Hutson, his second wife, there sickened and died within a week. There are many allusions in the diary of Mr. Hutson to passing events, to the places at which he preached, sometimes to "the blackening clouds gathering over this and the neighboring provinces," and then to the "victory and triumph of the British arms." Josiah Smith is alluded to as still occupying the pulpit occasionally, although his paralytic affection must have rendered his ministrations at this time unedifying. Mr. Edmonds is spoken of, and other clergymen whom he heard in his excursions abroad. The journal of this good man terminates abruptly. The last entry is Lord's-day, the 8th of March, 1761. He died of apoplexy, on the 11th of March in the same year. "His first wife was the widow of Mr. Isaac Chardon," the daughter of Mr. Woodward, and grand-daughter of Hon. James Stanyarn, member of the Commons House under the proprietary government. By her "he acquired a considerable estate," and had several children. His daughter Ann married Gen. John Barnwell of Beaufort; Esther married Major William Hazzard Wigg; Elizabeth married, July, 1765, Isaac Hayne, the martyr of the Revolu-

tion ; she died shortly before his execution : Mary married Arthur Perroneau, merchant, June, 1761. One of his sons, Richard, was one of the first chancellors of South Carolina, and a signer of the Articles of Confederation : also prisoner at St. Augustine in 1780 : he never married. His son Thomas Hutson was colonel of a regiment in Marion's Brigade ; born January 9th, 1750, died May 4th, 1789, and was a much respected and esteemed planter in Prince William's parish, where a numerous posterity survives. Rev. Mr. Hutson married a second time, October 10th, 1758, Mary, widow of Hugh Bryan, who died early in 1760. His remains were interred in the burial-ground of the Congregational church in Charleston.

The following is the epitaph of Mr. Hutson, on a tombstone in the cemetery of the church :

Notent omnes hic positas esse
Reliquias

Rev. GULIELMI HUTSON,

Qui, a vitiis, (quibus juvenis illectus est) Gratia Divina,
Reclamatus officio sacro ministri *se dedit*, A. D. 1743, quo

Et domesticis clare et integre fungentis
perduravit, ideo ut erat

Conjux charus, amans, fidelisque parens,
et benignus herus vitam

Prosperam eget, et (ad Deum Vocatus)
reliquit populum,

Liberosque lugentes, A. D. 1761, Ætatis suæ, 41.

Here are deposited

The precious remains of the Rev. WILLIAM HUTSON, the
five last years of his life one of the Pastors of this

Church, being of a

Truly noble Catholick spirit, an affectionate husband and
parent,

Sincere friend and kind master, endeavored to adorn the
doctrine

Of God our Saviour in all things, exchanged this for a
better life, April 11th, 1761, in the 41st year of
his age ; and has a monument erected for

Himself in the hearts of his acquaintances, hearers and
friends.

Hinc fugit spiritus de corpore morte revulsus,

Incolum ad Gloriam quin iterum veniet,

Charo hoc pulvere ne semperque manebit

Felix in Jesu gaudia pura fruens,

How joyful was his flight

Up to the blest abode,

Guided by troops of angels bright,

To meet a smiling God.

Grief no more assaults him now,

Nor any tears annoy,

Safe landed on the heavenly shore,

He doth his God enjoy.

“He was,” says Dr. Ramsay, “an eloquent preacher, an exemplary Christian, and an accomplished gentleman.” “He has left few such behind him in this province,” says Mr. Simpson, who preached in his own church, which was founded by Mr. Hutson, and where he had labored for twelve years, a funeral sermon from Matth. xxiv. 36—“But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.”

After the death of Mr. Hutson, the Rev. Andrew Bennet was chosen co-pastor. “He was a native of England, and educated under the Rev. Drs. Conder and Gibbons, in London. He came to Charleston from Philadelphia, where he had been an assistant to the Rev. Mr. Cross, of the Presbyterian church in Market-street.” He was preaching in Dorchester in June, 1760. In 1762 he obtained leave of absence, on account of his health, and in 1763 resigned and went to Bermuda, and afterwards to Barbadoes, on account of ill health, and there died in 1804. “He was esteemed,” says Dr. Ramsay, “a pious, able, and eloquent preacher; but bad health greatly obstructed his ample capacity for usefulness. Having no family, he bequeathed two thousand dollars to the society established in Charleston for the relief of elderly and disabled ministers, and of the widows and orphans of the Independent or Congregational church in the State of South Carolina.”

In 1763 the congregation wrote to Mr. Thomas Gibbons and Mr. Samuel Pike, that with Mr. Bennet’s advice they should send them a pastor. They say they have not the least encouragement to send to the northern colonies, it being extremely difficult, if not impossible, “to find one who would *be suitable to this place, and whose sentiments would accord with ours both in doctrine and discipline.*” On the 24th of March, 1765, they resolve, at the counsel of Mr. Whitefield and Rev. John Martin, to invite Rev. John Rogers of Philadelphia, and offer him £150 sterling, or £1050 currency. The Rev. Josiah Smith appears to have been present at these meetings. On the 22d of May, 1766, they write to Dr. Gibbons and Dr. Conder, Dissenting ministers of London, to send them a suitable minister. Rev. John Martin, of Wappetaw, seconded their application. In pursuance of this, Mr. John Thomas was sent out there a licentiate. He was ordained early in 1767 by Messrs. Smith, Zubly, and Edmonds. On the 22d of May he was elected pastor, and was installed by Mr. Smith June 7th in the same year. A letter from Nathaniel Russell to Dr. Stiles of Yale College, March 18th, 1767, speaks of the

favorable change in the congregation, which, from being “a very thin meeting, is now got to be very full and crowded,” which argues well for Mr. Thomas’s success. Mr. Edmonds resigned the pastoral charge in the same year, and removed to Sunbury, in Georgia. This church lost some conspicuous and useful members during this period. Solomon Legaré, the emigrant who came to Carolina in 1696, died on the 8th of May, 1760, in his eighty-seventh year, having been sixty-four years in America; and a Mr. Moody, spoken of by Mr. Simpson as a gentleman of great worth and influence, and eminently pious, who had been much engaged in the religious instruction of the negroes, died a happy and peaceful death in May, 1766.

The Congregational church at WAPPETAW was still served by Rev. John Martin. That at DORCHESTER had become well-nigh extinct by the removal of the pastor and congregation to Georgia. Yet there was still a congregation worshipping there, to which Mr. Hutson preached April 27th, 1760. He preached again at Beech Hill, May the 4th. Again at Dorchester, in exchange with Mr. Bennet, on the 8th of June, as his diary informs us. It is probable that Mr. Bennet was the stated supply at Dorchester at this time. These are all the items we have been able to collect respecting the people worshipping at this ancient church during the period of which we now treat. Some particulars respecting the congregation which had removed to Midway, Georgia, will appear on another page.

CHAPTER II.

THE STONEY CREEK Independent Presbyterian Church continued to enjoy the faithful labors of the Rev. Archibald Simpson, whose diary furnishes us with most of the notices we can obtain of neighboring churches and the passing times. On May 18th, 1761, he is called to a people on the Altamaha, in Georgia. On the 6th of June a call is forwarded to him through the presbytery from the Williamsburg church, which he afterwards visits, as he does also the people on the Altamaha. On the 8th he is “set upon to settle at Wilton.” In 1764, Mr. Richardson pleads the destitutions in the new settlements above the Waxhaws, and urges his removal there, partly on the score of health. Long Canes earnestly desires

a visit from him. Mr. Richardson's request ripens into a call from a congregation near him, received on Thursday, the 27th of September, 1764, which he declines. In 1765, Mr. Whitefield insisted on his removal to the north, and promises his influence in his behalf in Philadelphia and New York. On the 29th of July, 1765, he receives propositions from Halifax, which he deems it his duty to accept. This purpose is frustrated by the death of his wife. He is solicited also by many poor negroes not to leave the parish. The subject of a removal to the north weighed upon his mind for a twelvemonth. The reason which prevails most with him is the disturbed state of the entire country: "the whole provinces in British America being in open opposition to the government, refusing to submit to an act of Parliament of Great Britain for laying a stamp duty on the colonies, which is thought to be contrary to our liberties, and very oppressive in its nature. And thus all public business is at a stand, and the northern colonies, which are very populous, threaten to oppose the government with arms." He still, however, was troubled about staying in the province, being strongly influenced by the overtures from Halifax.

The colonies met in congress on the 7th of October, and were bound together, "a bundle of sticks which could neither be bent nor broken." The resistance increased; the Stamp Act could not be enforced. Under the lead of Pitt in the House of Commons it was repealed, to the great joy of the colonies, South Carolina herself voting a statue in honor of Pitt, which still stands in front of the orphan-house in Charleston.*

The church of Stoney Creek owned, with its other property, several negroes, which were hired annually, and their hire constituted a part of the income of the church for the support of its pastor. They were not always as well cared for as if they had individual masters. February 7th, 1765, one had died, one had been drowned, and there were nine remaining. Mr. Simpson notices several meetings of the trustees as occurring to attend to this and other business of a like nature.

* The South Carolina Gazette of July 28th, 1766, advertises "A Sermon on the Repeal of the Stamp Act, preached at Savannah, Ga., on the 25th of June, 1766, by J. J. Zubly, V. D. M., from Gal. v. 13, 15—'For, brethren, we have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed of one another.'"

"In this discourse the New World is considered as a Divine Theocracy. And the justness of the author's comparisons of the present with past events, with the eloquence of thought, design, and expression, render it worthy to be transmitted to posterity."

The following relates to Mr. Whitefield, between whom and himself there had been serious differences. "Wednesday, December 5th, 1764:—Between nine and ten, Mr. Whitefield (his old friend or enemy, he will not say which) stopped with him on his way to Georgia, in a coach and four with several servants." "On account of Mrs. Simpson's sickness he could not entertain him, but pressed him to go to Mrs. B[u]ll's, in our neighborhood, which he would not, but insisted on going to Mr. McLeod's, about four miles distant. He is prodigiously corpulent, but has for two years been in a bad state of health, and not able to preach as much as he used to do. Seemed still holy; his conversation not so much in the clouds nor so flighty, but more solid and weighty, and more like an inhabitant of this world. I asked him much to stay and preach here, as it would be agreeable to many." He then makes some comments on his equipage, and cannot forbear saying, "how unlike he was to his Master in this respect!" It was a source of great gratification, doubtless, to both parties that this estrangement was removed. On Tuesday, January 28th, 1765, he "spent this evening and part of the night with Rev. Mr. Whitefield in a very friendly way. Blessed be God, who has lifted me up from the very humbling circumstances I was in the first time Mr. Whitefield was in this country." On Friday, February 22d, Mr. Whitefield preached in his meeting-house. "The auditory large, serious, and well-behaved, which gave me much pleasure, and which is not always the case in his auditories in this province, many taking occasion from his peculiarities to behave very indecently. He preached, from Phil. i. 21, first clause, a good sermon on the very vitals of Christianity. After sermon he dined at my house, renewed his professions of friendship, and went for Charleston on his way to Philadelphia. The more I compare times past with the present, the more my soul is humbled in the dust, praising, blessing, and adoring the Lord for all his great and wonderful goodness."

Soon after the visit of Mr. Whitefield, and while he was still contemplating a removal to some more northern province, both he and Mrs. Simpson were taken desperately ill with fever, and brought to the brink of the grave. After lingering for some days, with a presentiment that her attack was a mortal one, and after much and satisfactory intercourse with her husband, and expressions of joy at her release from the flesh, she expired on the 7th of August, 1765, leaving three children—Jean, Susy, and Eleanor; four years and four

months, two years and nearly eight months, and eight months of age. The record of her religious character and exercises, during her last illness, is one exceedingly touching. Mr. Simpson greatly mourned her loss, but says, "The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away: Blessed be the name of the Lord."

Under date of Friday, March 28th, 1766, we find mention made of Mr. Robert McMordie, who was appointed at the meeting of the synod of New York and Philadelphia, May, 1765, as a missionary to visit the destitutions of the southern colonies. The appointment was in consequence of supplications for supplies from the congregations of Bethel and Poplar Tent, in Mecklenburg county, and from New Providence and Six Mile Spring, Hawfield and Little River, and from Long Canes in South Carolina. In consequence of this the synod appointed Messrs. Nathan Kerr, George Duffield, William Ramsay, David Caldwell, James Latta, and Robert McMordie, to go there as soon as they can conveniently, and each of them to tarry half a year in these congregations, as prudence may direct.—(Minutes of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, p. 346.) "About the middle of the day," says Mr. Simpson, "was sent for to Sheldon, where found the Rev. Mr. McMordy, from Pennsylvania, who has been travelling along our back settlements. In the evening brought home Mr. McMordy and his companion with me, and, having looked into his testimonials, invited him to preach for me on Sabbath." "Monday, accompanied him on his way to Charleston; saw him and his companion safely over Combahee ferry; perceived he was a well-read scholar, of good ability; wrote to a friend at Pon Pon to arrange that the Willton people might hear him, and call him if they thought proper, and to Mr. Gordon to the same effect."

Mr. Simpson had attended a meeting of presbytery, April 21st, 1760, held at Pon Pon, on account of the prevalence of the small-pox in Charleston; again in Charleston, November 22d of the same year. But we find him attending less frequently—his feelings becoming more and more estranged from his brethren on account of a difference of opinion, or perhaps because of his connection with a church not under presbyterial control. His journal introduces us again to the presbytery, which he attended in May, 1766. From his own account, it was far from being a harmonious meeting. He had questioned the perfect orthodoxy of a minister lately from Ireland, whose name he does not fully mention, and whom the presbytery sustained. He is disposed to charge

the majority with having a leaning toward error in doctrine. It was Mr. Richardson who was the author of the queries in respect to this minister's soundness, and who proposed them out of zeal for the truth, and the honor of his Master. It is not improbable that the Moderatism of Scotland and the evangelical views of its opponents were both represented in this body. But it is to be hoped that the vague charges of Arminianism, Arianism, and Socinianism, made by Mr. Simpson, were far from being justified. Yet it was the prevalence of these opinions abroad which gave rise to the action of the synod of Philadelphia in 1739, and of the General Assembly since, down to 1849, which demands the probation of foreign ministers before they are entitled to full credentials with us.

During these ten years Mr. Simpson made two journeys to the people on Sapelo and Altamaha, who had invited him to settle among them as their pastor. His journal of these visits is interesting, as throwing light upon the condition of the country, and the circumstances and character of the people he met with. One of these journeys was performed in March, 1761, the other in November, 1769. His route lay by the way of Purysburg, Ebenezer, Savannah, Liberty county, as far as Darien, Georgia. He speaks of Purysburg, even then, as a poor, deserted place. He praises Mr. Zubly, in Savannah, as a most eminent scholar and great divine, as possessing extraordinary talents for writing on subjects whether religious or political, and as an excellent Christian. On one occasion he heard him preach in the German to the "Dutch people," and describes him as a holy preacher in every tongue he speaks, the French, German, and English. On his visit he was greatly surprised at the great and beautiful improvements made in the Midway settlement—the fine plantations, the large and well-finished meeting-house, the good public roads, in what seven years before was looked upon as an almost impenetrable swamp. Reaching Major John McIntosh's house on Sapelo, he finds it the most beautiful situation he had seen in America, with the largest orange orchard in those parts. The people on Sapelo were Scotch Highlanders, mostly very poor, their situation for many years, for want of the gospel, very melancholy. Those on the Altamaha were chiefly North Ireland people, who were just moving in from Williamsburg, South Carolina. He addressed them in a pole-house or shelter, where Mr. Osgood had sometimes preached. He also visited old Captain, afterwards General, Lachlan McIntosh, who had spent most of his days in the army, and most of whose children

were settled in those parts. The people resolved to forward a call to South Carolina presbytery for his services, and to seek aid to build a meeting-house and parsonage. The next Sabbath he preached to a very considerable and attentive congregation. On his next visit, in 1769, he has more to say of Mr. Osgood and his people. He attended a sacramental season at old Midway church, which seems to have been conducted much as in later years. He finds Mr. Edmonds as colleague with Mr. Osgood, but residing at Sunbury. He is charmed with Mr. Osgood as a "Nathaniel, an Israelite indeed, much of a gentleman, and yet with the most primitive and plain simplicity in his behavior, by nature and grace of a most mild, meek, and pleasant disposition, and withal a most edifying, delightful, and instructive preacher." The three ministers officiated on the Lord's-day, the congregation was large and genteel, attentive and tenderly impressed, and the whole occasion reminded him of the many sweet seasons of communion he had enjoyed in Scotland. Thus early had the Dorchester church, which removed from Ashley river in 1754, taken root and sent forth its branches at Midway, in what since 1777 has been called Liberty county, Georgia.

The FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH in CHARLESTON, which by its metropolitan position is, in many respects, the most important church of this period, is without any record by which we can gather its history, during this decennium. We have seen that the Rev. Philip Morrison was installed its pastor on the 19th of March, 1757. We are not able to say how long his ministry continued. The South Carolina Gazette for November 5th and 12th, 1763, notices the arrival of Rev. Mr. Hewitt for the Scotch Church. The true orthography of his name, as spelled by himself, was *Hewat*; Mr. Simpson, in his diary, writes it *Huet*; Mr. B. R. Carroll, in the Historical Collections of South Carolina, spells it *Hewit*; Watt, in the Bibliotheca Britannica, gives *Hewatt* as author of the sermons, and *Hewit* as author of the history published by him. His name was probably enrolled by himself in the St. Andrew's Society in the city of Charleston, on the 30th of November, 1763, shortly after his arrival. This was the day of the patron saint of Scotland, and the pastor of the Scotch church has generally officiated as chaplain of that society.—(Hon. Mitchell King, quoted by Dr. Smyth, Sprague's Annals, iii., 253.) Judge King, however, says that "the records of the church, in Dr. Hewat's own handwriting, show that on the 20th of March, 1763, he presided as moderator at the meeting of session." These discrepancies Mr.

King is unable to reconcile. All we know is that Rev. Alexander Hewat was pastor of this church from some time in 1763. In a note appended to his sermons, vol. i., p. 386, he informs us that his early education was obtained in Kelso. He attended faithfully to his pastoral duties during the period of which we now speak, not, however, without some interruption from ill health. Mr. Simpson, speaking of the destitution of ministers, February 17th, 1766, says of Mr. Gordon, "he is very low, is trying to get off to the Bermudas. Mr. Huet, minister of Charleston, has already gone off in a very bad state of health." On the 6th of January, 1768, he was at Mr. *Huet's* in town, with two other Presbyterian ministers, Mr. Tait of North Carolina and Mr. Knox lately from Ireland. He was "not greatly pleased nor edified with this night's conversation, it being mostly against Mr. Whitefield and ministers of his stamp. As I felt myself pointed at," he says, "I thought it my duty to speak freely, and stand up for the preaching warmly and zealously the doctrines of grace, the necessity of regeneration, the Catholic practice of preaching in all pulpits, employing pious ministers of every denomination, and holding occasional communion with all sound Protestants, with all Christians who held of the glorious Head, and both lay and ministerial communion." On June 1st he was again at Mr. *Huet's*, where he met with the Rev. Mr. Lathrop. "They rallied me," he adds, "about not attending presbytery, and told me that at the last general meeting, about two weeks ago, all the members attended, except Mr. Richardson and me, and that they looked upon us as incorrigible, and left us to ourselves. Mr. Huet told me seriously that Wiltown call would certainly be offered me, and that the brethren were resolved to have me out of the Independent congregation, that I might have no excuse for not attending presbytery. I told him I hoped they would give the Indian Land people (Stoney Creek) notice before they offered the call, that they might have a hearing against it if they desired. He said, no doubt but they would be informed before it was presented to me, but that he should insist on my accepting it." We see from this extract the general views which Mr. Hewat advocated, and the influential position held by him in the presbytery of Charleston.

WILTON CHURCH. Papers exist which show that Rev. John Alison preached to this church during the years 1760 and 1761.—(MS. Notes, by Rev. J. L. Girardeau, D.D.). He seems to have left Wilton, and ministered to the people on

the Altamaha, in Georgia. In January, 1766, Mr. Simpson received payment, without interest, of the arrearages due him for services in 1752, after a lapse of fourteen years; "Mr. Stobo," who had all this time been hostile to him, "consenting;" "an answer," Mr. Simpson says, "to prayer." Mention is made in the minutes of the Board of Trustees, between May 6th, 1765, and May, 1766, of Rev. Mr. Simpson and Rev. Mr. Alison as having supplied the church during a vacancy in the pastorate, for which they received compensation. On May 29th, 1767, Mr. Simpson says that the congregations of Pon Pon and Wilton request half his time. The minutes of the trustees contain provisions for the erection of a new church edifice to be situated on the parsonage land, about three miles from the original site of the church on Wilton Bluff. A meeting of the trustees was held July 31st, 1767, in the minutes of which mention is made of "the church now building," so that the church was rebuilt in that year. In August of this year Mr. Simpson speaks of preaching at Wilton and Pon Pon, mentions Wilton new meeting-house, "about four miles or more from the old one, and about three miles from the public path, so that it is very convenient and central; is a large, handsome, and very well built house—the pulpit and pews the same which used to be in the old brick meeting-house. Mr. Stobo has moved out of the parish, and all differences are made up. They frequently asked me to accept of their call, and upon my repeated refusal, have lately sent to the northward. Was treated with great respect." On the 10th of April, 1768, he again preaches at Wilton, and finds that they have forwarded their call to presbytery. Of this we have before spoken, and of the wishes expressed by Mr. Hewat that he should accept of it; but Mr. Simpson appears to have declined it, for there exists on the records of Wilton church a petition drawn up and sent to the presbytery of South Carolina for the pastoral services of Rev. John Maltby. The petition contained a call to him through the presbytery to become pastor of the church. It bears date, "Charles Town, May 17th, 1769."

The CHURCH ON JAMES ISLAND continued to enjoy in the beginning of this period the pastoral labors of the Rev. Mr. Patrick Kier. Mr. Hutson heard him preach there on the 26th of September, 1760. Mr. Simpson first learns of his death on the 14th of October, 1765, and speaks of him as "an old man, useful and beloved among his people, as having been about seven years in the province, and as leaving a large family

behind in distressed circumstances, the common lot of God's ministers in this world." On the 23d of January, 1766, Rev. Mr. Alison lodges with Mr. Simpson on his way to James Island, where he had accepted an invitation for a twelvemonth. "He has left the people of Altamaha." His ministry here was a short one. In the graveyard of the James Island Presbyterian church, an old cypress board, almost worn out by age and the weather, still marks the grave in which sleep the remains of *Rev. John Alison*. The letters are distinct enough to be read. He died while ministering to that now venerable church. The inscription entire is—"Here lies, in hopes of a joyful Resurrection, the body of *Rev. John Allison*, who departed this life, Oct. 17th, 1766, aged 36 years."—(MS. Notes of J. L. Girardeau; Letter of Rev. John Douglas.) He seems to have been succeeded, but in what year we are not informed, by Rev. Hugh Alison, who was a native of Pennsylvania, was graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1762, and who came out to Charleston as a teacher. He was married to a daughter of Paul Smiser, a planter, and shortly after removed to James Island, taking with him a number of young men with a view to superintend their education.

The Rev. Charles Lorimer was pastor of the Presbyterian church on John's Island in 1755. The South Carolina Gazette speaks of him as having embarked for England, July 8th, 1764. We have found it very difficult to trace down the succession of the ministers of this church, or its history as a congregation. There was an act of the legislature passed in 1765, by which it appears that Joseph Stanyarne, James Carson, John Freer, Henry Livingston, and Hugh Wilson had petitioned for leave to sell the two hundred and twelve acres of land (which they had purchased of Robert Turner) on the 24th of December, 1756, for the use of the pastor or minister of the meeting-house on John's Island, as a glebe or parsonage; and leave was accordingly granted for "the said trustees, or any three or more of them, to sell and dispose of the said tract of land, and the buildings thereon, to any person or persons whatsoever, at the best price that may be had for the same, and to execute conveyances thereof to the said purchaser or purchasers in fee simple; and they are hereby empowered, with the money arising from such sale, to purchase a glebe or parsonage in such place as they shall think proper, and to receive and take a conveyance of the same in trust, to and for the uses of the ministers of the time being of the same meeting-house forever." This looks as if the congregation

were careful in all that pertained to the affairs of the church, and that they could scarcely be destitute of the preaching of the gospel. On the 23d of October, 1769, Mr. Simpson calls on Mr. Hewat in Charleston, and finds with him Mr. Latta from John's Island. He has a previous entry, June 1st, 1768, in which he finds with Mr. Hewat Mr. Lathrop, a young Presbyterian minister, lately received a member [of presbytery probably] and settled on John's Island. A Rev. James Latta was married to Sarah, daughter of Hugh Wilson, March 24th, 1775. The name Lathrop is probably a mistake therefore, and Mr. Latta's ministry on John's Island commenced in 1768. There is preserved in the correspondence of President Stiles, of Yale College, a letter of Mr. Ewing, dated Philadelphia, July 1st, 1768, introducing the Rev. James Latta, as a young gentleman of good learning and abilities, an accurate preacher and of unspotted moral character, and says of him, "He is settled in a congregation near Charles Town, in South Carolina, is now taking a tour for his improvement." This description will answer either for John's or James' Island. James Latta was sent out at the same time with Mr. McMordie, in 1765.—(Minutes of Synod of New York and Philadelphia, p. 346; and in 1768 the second Philadelphia presbytery report that "Mr. James Latta, a licensed candidate, who was sent by the synod to southern parts, informs them by letter that he is joined with the presbytery in South Carolina," p. 378. He was a different person from the former. A James Latta was again sent "to North Carolina and those parts of South Carolina under our care," pp. 389, 399.)

We are not able to give any history of the church on EDISTO ISLAND during this period. The account of Edisto Island appended to Ramsay's History of South Carolina, says Rev. Mr. Henderson succeeded Rev. John McLeod. Mr. Henderson did not become pastor of this church before 1770. Probably the Mr. McLeod, with whom Whitefield insisted on staying, and "who lived four miles from Mr. Simpson," was the Rev. Mr. McLeod, the pastor of this church.

BEAUFORT continued to be supplied, at least occasionally, by Mr. Simpson, and in 1768 resolved on applying to presbytery for one-fifth part of his time.

BETHEL, PON PON (now the Walterboro church) had as its pastor through the most of this period the Rev. Charles Gordon. His health gave way in 1766, and on the 26th of June Mr. Simpson declared the church vacant by order of presbytery—the second time he had performed this act. He preached to

them after this occasionally, and administered the communion. On the 1st of January, 1768, he records the fact that Mr. Latta, a young gentleman from the north, is preaching to them, "a very polite gentleman and preacher," and that he had been called to the pastorate by the voice of the majority, a call which it appears he did not accept.

CHAPTER III.

How the church on BLACK MINGO was supplied after the death of Rev. Samuel Hunter, in 1754, we have no means of knowing. John Baxter's register shows that he preached many times on Black river, sometimes on the Pedee, and sometimes at Winyaw, and frequently on the Santee, "at the Santee meeting-house." His residence was not far from Black Mingo church, which, also, is not very remote from the Black river. It is possible that he may sometimes have ministered to this church, though of this we have no proof. On Wednesday, the 6th of January, 1768, Mr. Simpson meets with "a young man, Mr. [William] Knox, lately from Ireland, with some poor people for Long Canes; but he thinks of going to Williamsburg, or wherever he may find a settlement." Mr. Knox became the pastor of Black Mingo, and his descendants still live in Sumter district.

Of the church of WILLIAMSBURG we find some notices in the diary of Mr. Simpson. He notices the death of Mr. Rae as having occurred in the spring of 1761. Mr. Wallace, in his History, says, "Having faithfully served his generation, Mr. Ray fell asleep in 1761, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day. He was the first minister buried here."

"He is represented," says Dr. Witherspoon (MS. Hist. of Williamsburg church), "to have been a man of heavenly spirit, and to have labored with much success, with unwearied diligence and fidelity reproving the negligent, encouraging the doubtful and desponding, visiting the sick, comforting mourners, and relieving the distressed. At once prudent and faithful, he retained the confidence of the whole community, exerting an influence for good upon the aged and the young. The most perfect harmony prevailed among the people, who walked together not merely in peace and unity, but in Christian charity and fraternal affection. The piety and graces of

the parents seemed to have descended upon their offspring, and the young, as they grew to manhood, became, with few exceptions, members and ornaments of the church of their fathers. New additions were made from abroad to the settlement, and prosperity in worldly and spiritual matters marked the place where the pilgrims from Ireland had set up their altars to the Lord, so that the church was filled from Sabbath to Sabbath with pious worshippers whose deportment attested their reverence for everything holy. At length, after serving most faithfully his congregation for eighteen years, Mr. Ray died in 1761, at about forty-six years of age, in the full tide of usefulness, with the blessing of God upon his labors, and surrounded by the tears and unavailing regrets of his pious and much beloved people. His body was interred in the yard of the original church, to which it was conveyed from the neighborhood of Salem, where he died."

The attention of the congregation was then turned towards Mr. Simpson, and he received from them a most unanimous call through the presbytery, on Saturday, June 6th, 1761. He says, it is "from a very numerous people, among whom there is above two hundred communicants." He had just before (in the month of May) received the call from the people on the Altamaha. One thing that rendered that field the more promising, in his view, was the expected removal of a considerable number of the Williamsburg people thither. He finds that they conclude to settle at a nearer locality on the Pedee. June the 17th, he finds his way more clear for Williamsburg, he sees in it "a remarkable hand of providence." The support is indeed less, but the opportunity of usefulness greater. He therefore informs his own people, Lord's-day, 28th, that he had returned the Georgia call, but that it would be his duty to go to Williamsburg. One of the reasons he gives to his people why he has thought of removing is the existence of two parties among them, "an Independent and a Presbyterian." Yet he feels "much troubled about the poor, destitute flocks, the Altamaha, Indian Land, and Williamsburg." On Monday, July 13th, he sets out on his visit. He describes with his usual minuteness the particulars of his journey. He finds the congregation larger than at Indian Land, the parsonage very commodious, all things considered, the temporals better; but he speaks less well of the spiritual condition of the people at the time of his visit. He declined this call, and remained with his own church.

In the old tattered sheets of the early register of Williams-

burg church there is no entry from 1759 to 1769. At this latter date there is a record of the settlement of Rev. David McKey (or McKee), who "was ordained minister of the gospel by the presbytery of Bangor in Ireland, to take charge of the congregation of Williamsburg in the province of South Carolina, in consequence of a blank call sent by the representatives of said congregation, and transmitted with a recommendatory letter from the presbytery of South Carolina to y^e Rev^d Messrs. Laird and Walker, members of said presbytery of Bangor, to be filled up by one whom they should choose. Mr. McKey arrived in this province about the latter end of December last, and applied to Mr. Huet [Hewat], upon which he and others of the presbytery met *pro re nata*, when, after receiving his credentials, and other letters of recommendation, they appointed his instalment the third Wednesday of February, 1769, which accordingly was observed by Mr. Knox, a member of said presbytery in this province."

"The successor of Mr. Ray," says Rev. Mr. Wallace, "was Rev. Mr. McKee, of whom not much is known, except that he was a godly man, walking with God like Enoch of old. After laboring here two or three years, he was called to the Salem church. His successor was the Rev. Hector Alison, who was examined by the committee of the synod of Philadelphia in languages and philosophy, May 28th, 1745, and approved. He was ordained by the presbytery of Newcastle in 1746. In 1750 he was sent to the western parts of Virginia for eight Sabbaths—an appointment he faithfully fulfilled. In 1753 he asked for a dismissal from his pastoral relation; his request was referred to synod, and by them sent to their commission, who determined the case, and he was settled at Drawyers till 1758. In 1753, when he had been but six years in the ministry, he was made moderator of the synod of Philadelphia. In 1758 he was appointed chairman of the committee to draw a plan of union between the synods of Philadelphia and New York. In 1760 he was directed by synod to supply the English Presbyterian gentlemen at Albany," and during the same year was sent as chaplain to the Pennsylvania forces on their march towards Canada. He was one of the commission of synod. He joined the presbytery of Newcastle in 1761, after the union. His name appears as a member of Newcastle presbytery for the last time in 1762. About this time he was called to the Williamsburg church. One [traditionary] account (Dr. Witherspoon's), says Mr. Wallace, avers that he was minister here from 1765 to 1770, when he left. Another, and

more probable one, is that he died here, and that his sepulchre, though unknown, is with us. A venerable lady [Mrs. Nancy Mouzon] assures us that the tradition was, that both Alison and his successor are entombed in this sacred repository of the dead. There is evidently a confusion between the statement of Mr. Wallace and the record still extant as to the ministry of Mr. McKee, and we must give the preference to the ancient record before the uncertain tradition. Mr. McKee was evidently the successor of Mr. Alison, if the date of Mr. Alison's connection with the church is rightly given by Mr. Wallace. Yet both he and Dr. Witherspoon make Mr. McKee successor to Mr. Rae, and Dr. Witherspoon speaks of his remaining with the church only about two or three years, as then removing to Salem, where he died about the year 1770.

We are not able to say anything further respecting the church of WACCAMAU (probably Conwaysboro), where Rev. William Donaldson was settled in 1756; nor are we able to say anything as to the church at CAINHOY, save that it appears to have been served during this period by Rev. John Martin as supply.

The FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH in CHARLESTON was under the pastorate of the Rev. Barthelemi Henri Hiemeli, as his register of baptisms, commencing January 10th, 1759, and extending through the whole of this period, shows. From this we gather that Jacques Poyas, Jean Ernest Poyas, Daniel Bouget, and Theodore Trezvant were anciens, or elders, of this church during this period—their names being casually mentioned. From this register we learn that negro children were sometimes presented for baptism by their masters, which is also in accordance with the decisions of our own church.--(Minutes, 1787, 1816; Baird's Digest, p. 82.)

But a new church was organized on the north side of SALT KETCHER, in Colleton district, by the labors of Mr. Simpson. The people of the neighborhood, he tells us, were originally of the church of England, and had no desire for the preaching of the gospel till two families of the name of Dunham, from the Bethel church, Pon Pon, and another from the same, by the name of Hamilton, moved among them. They then resolved on establishing gospel worship among them, and commenced the erection of a house of worship about ten miles from Mr. Simpson's, with the design of building still another about ten miles beyond, where the larger portion of the congregation lived. April 3d, 1766, they presented a call to Mr. Simpson for half his time, offering him £400 currency. The other

church wished him to accept of it, and though much reduced in numbers, proposed to pay the same sum, "which," says Mr. Simpson, "with their negroes they can easily do." Mr. Simpson's labors were much blessed in this congregation, and his efforts to build it up were crowned with success.

Beyond the Santee also, on the Black river, "church extension" seemed to be the order of procedure in one neighborhood at least. About the time of the Cherokee war, in 1759, there was donated by Captain David Anderson for the use of the Presbyterian church of SALEM, a spot of ground on what was then called Taylor's Swamp, but now Meeting-House Branch, and at or about the same time there was erected a log meeting-house; this is believed to have been first occupied by the Rev. Mr. Rae of Williamsburg, also by Mr. Ellison (Hugh Alison?) and perhaps others. In this state of occasional supplies it remained until the year 1763, and in 1768 the log meeting-house was removed, and on the same site was raised a frame-house, which was occupied occasionally by the Rev. Mr. Knox, and at one time for six months by the Rev. Elam Potter. After this time it was occupied occasionally by the Rev. James Edmonds, and the Rev. Mr. Richardson of the Waxhaws.* The Suffolk presbytery report to the synod of New York and Philadelphia, May 20th, 1767, that they had licensed Mr. Elam Potter. Supplications for supplies were made to that synod from Orange and Culpepper, and the southern branch of Potomac in Virginia; and from Long Canes, Cathy's Settlement, Indian Creek, and Duncan's Creek in North [and South] Carolina; and motions for supplies were made in behalf of Williamsburg and places adjacent, Hanover and Cub Creek in Virginia, Newbern, Edenton, Fourth Creek, Upper Hico, Haw River, Goshen in the forks of Catawba, the south fork of Catawba, the forks of Yadkin, and Salisbury, North Carolina, Little River in South Carolina, and Briar Creek in Georgia. The synod accordingly appointed "Messrs. Bay, Potter, McCrery, Alexander, and Latta, Jun., to take a journey, as soon as the circumstances of their affairs

* Records of Salem Church collected from imperfect sources in 1825, during the lifetime of Roger Wilson and William Mills, who were members of the church in its early existence, furnished by the clerk of session, M. P. Mayes, and forwarded by Rev. Geo. C. Gregg. "A number of removals had taken place prior to 1760 from the Williamsburg congregation, which formed the germs of several others. Samuel and James Bradley settled in Salem, and planted the church there. The David Anderson who is here mentioned is probably the same whose name appears on the records of Williamsburg in 1754."—Wallace.

will admit, through Virginia, the Carolinas (and Georgia, if they can), and that each tarry half a year, and as much longer as he shall think proper.”—(Minutes, *ut supra*, pp. 374, 375.) Mr. Archibald Simpson at Indian Land (Stoney Creek, Pocotaligo), by a letter from Mr. James Dunham, is informed, Lord’s-day, October 4th, 1767, that a young man from New Jersey synod preaches at Wiltown with a view to settlement, and that Mr. Potter and he will come to his (Simpson’s) house to-morrow on his (Dunham’s) way to Georgia. Mr. Simpson remarks that this man is from New England, is preaching by appointment of the synod of New York [and Philadelphia]; that he is about twenty-seven years of age, has much of a college air, which may wear off in time, and that there are thoughts of calling him to Wiltown and Pon Pon. On Mr. Simpson’s return from Savannah, he finds Mr. Potter “has given some disgust to the people of Wiltown, by his stiff and obstinate behavior.” He seems to have very mistaken notions of the country. Still he thought of getting him to Pon Pon for the winter. Mr. Potter was taken very sick at Mr. Simpson’s. On the 21st he thinks him dangerously ill. He “finds him melancholy and unwilling to die.” He endeavors to comfort him, but finds that “his confused metaphysical notions and distinctions yield him very little comfort in view of death.” He asked him for the ground of his hopes of salvation. “His answers were not clear and distinct. At last he said his hope was founded on his having fulfilled the conditions of the covenant of grace. I asked him what conditions he meant. He said repentance and faith. I told him I did not like his manner of expressing himself. He endeavored to explain his meaning, which seemed well enough on the whole, but confused; found him to be much in the dark as to his own state. I believe he is truly a gracious person, but seems to have a better heart than head,—full of confused metaphysical distinctions, with Arminian expressions, yet fixing a Calvinistic meaning to them. He appears to me to have been but a short time at his studies, to have been advanced in life before he went to study, and to have crowded his study too much, so that, although he seems to have made proficiency, yet all is crowded, huddled, confused. And he seems to have no order, method, nor regularity in his opinions. He appears to have taken up notions from some leading men he regards, without understanding their sentiments or being convinced of them, so that his unorthodox expressions seem to be contradicted by the feelings of his own heart. From conversing with him, I have seen it to

be a great blessing for a minister to have real grace, and to be well acquainted with holiness and the workings of the Divine Spirit experimentally, before studying divinity as a science. I took the opportunity to show him that many of his notions were very untenable, and those metaphysical distinctions were very foolish, idle, and useless; and however they might please speculative men, and serve to exercise their wit and talents upon them, yet they would not do to die in, and were very uncomfortable. I then instructed and directed him in a way of speaking and thinking which I thought much more scriptural, evangelical, and comfortable. He received it well; was myself in a humble frame of soul, helped to prayer, &c. His fever increased. He became out of his head, sprang from his bed and ran into the hall; could get no white assistance—the sickness was so general.” Mr. Potter recovered from this severe illness, and seems to have remained with Mr. Simpson till the following February. He could not have been very popular or acceptable in southern society. Under date of January 19th, 1768, Mr. Simpson says, “Mr. Potter returned from Port Royal: his unhappy temper and unlucky address make him disagreeable to most people.” Yet he afterwards speaks well of him, and thinks his going away a great loss to the country. On February 1st, he “went some distance with Mr. Potter, who sets out for Long Canes, and intends to be in Philadelphia at synod in May next, the Lord willing, and so proceed to New England. He came into this province with great expectations and assurance of settling at Wiltown, but has met with great disappointments, great and repeated afflictions in sickness, and is now returning through the wilderness lone and desolate enough.” On the 31st of May he finds Mr. Potter in Charleston at Mr. Legaré’s, “he had been prevented from going to Long Canes by the heavy rains. He went to North Carolina, and was invited to Bl[a]ck Creek in the north-western part of the province.”

This extract from Mr. Simpson’s diary is discriminating and instructive. It describes the character of many scholastic inexperienced young ministers of the present day. It presents before our view the great superiority of a thorough education in religious things, both doctrinal by human diligence, and spiritual by a thorough work of experimental religion, before entering on studies for the ministry. A clear inculcation of the doctrines of the Assembly’s catechism and confession from youth up, and a hearty adoption of the same, will serve as a sheet-anchor against being driven about by the winds of doc-

trine, and as a guide amidst the speculations of a deceitful philosophy.

This Mr. Potter, we doubt not, was the same minister who preached to the people of Salem, Black River. Mr. Simpson saw him in the years of his inexperience, but in all probability he possessed valuable qualities, and certainly an observing and inquiring mind, which we shall have occasion to show hereafter.

During this period, from 1760-1770, the Rev. James Campbell, who was a member of the presbytery known by the names of the presbytery of South Carolina and the presbytery of the Province, was exercising his ministerial office at the BLUFF CHURCH on the Cape Fear. "His preaching," says his grandson (the Rev. D. A. Campbell, quoted by James Banks, Esq., Centennial address at the Bluff Church, North Carolina, p. 15), "was not so much of the didactic and polemic as the exegetical and practical—expounding and explaining chapters or portions of Scripture. In this he imitated Whitefield, to whom he felt much indebted."

The WAXHAW Church enjoyed the faithful labors still of the Rev. William Richardson. His labors were not confined to that particular congregation. Indeed, for seventy miles around, he seems to have extended his evangelistic labors, visiting the people, and gathering them, in many instances, into regular congregations and churches. His preaching tours would continue for a month, during which he preached daily from place to place. Mr. Robert Carr, who lived in Mr. Richardson's family, said that messengers were frequently arriving to obtain his services as a preacher at different places. The churches in Chester and York, and Pacolet Church and Fairforest, are said to have been founded by him. Though not permitted to labor according to his original intention, as a missionary among the Cherokees, he belonged to the equally worthy army of domestic missionaries, and performed the labors of a true evangelist. It is said too to have been the spirit of those times, that those who ministered at the altar should live of the altar, and Mr. Carr testified that on Mr. Richardson's return from these itinerant tours he would bring with him a great deal (?) of money. We hope it was even so.

After Mr. Richardson was settled in America, he was thoughtful of his kindred whom he had left behind in Britain. His sister Mary, six years older than himself, had married Mr. Archibald Davie, and had called her first-born son after

her absent brother, William Richardson Davie. By frequent correspondence, he had prevailed on Mr. Davie, her husband, to remove to America, had sent them the pecuniary means to do so, and about the year 1764 they arrived at his house. Little William, the son, had been sent over before in 1761,* when only five years old, in company with Robert Carr, the nephew of Mr. Archibald Davie. Mr. Richardson settled his sister and brother-in-law but a few hundred yards from his own dwelling, and having no children of his own, regarded his nephew and namesake with peculiar fondness. The house of the uncle was the home of the child, who was a lovely boy, of uncommon beauty, sprightliness, and intelligence. In Mr. Richardson's frequent absences from home, Robt. Carr stayed at the house as the guardian of Mrs. Richardson and the child; and when her husband was at home, he took especial pains to guide him aright, to direct his studies, and implant within him those noble principles which in after life produced such noble fruits. William Richardson Davie, under this training, became "a great man in the age of great men." His life and character belongs to his country. He was a patriot, a soldier, a jurist, a statesman, and a diplomatist, whose abilities were admitted and whose services were acknowledged.

When the settlements on Long Cane were broken up in 1761, by the incursion of the Cherokees and the murders committed by them at Long Cane Bridge, near "the Calhoun settlement," a portion of the fugitives took refuge in the Waxhaw congregation. Ezekiel Calhoun escaped thither, bringing with him his interesting family. Andrew Pickens was also for a time a resident there, and became acquainted there with Rebecca Calhoun, whom he afterwards married. Patrick Calhoun was also betrothed to Miss Jane Craighead, the sister of Mrs. Richardson and daughter of Rev. Alexander Craighead, of Rocky River, N. C., an ardent preacher and a Whig in politics anterior to the Revolution, and who did much in disseminating those principles which culminated afterwards in the Mecklenburg Declaration and the Declaration of American Independence. She was the first wife of Patrick Calhoun.†

* Jared Sparks (Am. Biog., New Series, vol. xv., p. 2), says: "His father, Mr. Archibald Davie, brought him to America in 1763, and placed him under the care of the Rev. William Richardson, his maternal uncle." Mrs. Davie's death occurred in 1767.

† After her death, says Mr. Stinson, Mr. Calhoun, while locating lands in Abbeville District, fell in with Mr. Caldwell, engaged in the same business, went home with him, and subsequently married his daughter, the mother of Hon. J. C. Calhoun. The other sisters of Mrs. Richardson were married,

The settlements on the Catawba now received an accession to their population from the Presbyterians of Ireland who were disfranchised in their own country. The parents of Andrew Jackson are said to have migrated to the Waxhaws in 1764.

FAIRFOREST CHURCH. "From the insolent and unfriendly treatment of the Cherokee Indians, the inhabitants of this settlement were obliged to abandon their habitations in the early part of this period, and fly into the interior parts of the country, where they remained until the peace of 1763 between Great Britain and France. To the sufferings and perils of this period we will again recur.

"In the year 1765 the Rev. Mr. Richardson from Waxhaws visited their neighborhood. In the year 1766 visits were made and the gospel preached by the Rev. Messrs. Duffield and McMordie. Towards the close of the same year Rev., afterwards Dr., Joseph Alexander, being then a licentiate, visited and preached to them; and it is with a grateful pleasure that he is still acknowledged to have been a father and guardian to that people. In the same and the year following they were visited and supplied occasionally by the Rev. Mr. McCreery [McCreary] from Pennsylvania, and by Messrs. Roe and Close when missionaries, as also by Mr. Holmes and Mr. Tate before mentioned." "The Rev. Joseph Alexander had at one time made arrangements to settle within the bounds of this congregation with the view of supplying them and the Nazareth people, but for some reason abandoned this purpose and settled in the congregation of Bullock's Creek."—(MS. Hist. of Churches in second Presbytery of South Carolina; and J. H. Saye, MS. Hist.)

INDIAN CREEK AND GRASSY SPRING. In the early part of this period, these settlements, in common with the whole frontier, were greatly annoyed by their savage neighbors. Some of the people called Quakers had settled in these parts. In the year 1760 the Cherokee Indians murdered several of the inhabitants. This compelled the others to collect and build a stockade-fort at the house of a Mr. Otterson, the signs of which are still visible. Into this the Quakers, as well as others, fled for refuge, but would not take up arms. While here the Presbyterians assembled generally every evening to read and join in social prayer. Their place of refuge

Rachel to Rev. David Caldwell, of Guilford, N. C., Margaret to Mr. Carouth, Mary to Samuel Dunlap, son of the old elder of that name, Elizabeth to Alexander Crawford, the two last mentioned living in Waxhaw congregation.

became thus a temple to the living God. The incursions of the savages became at length so frequent and alarming that the people in the fort determined to evacuate it, and fled for shelter to different interior parts. After returning from exile, in the year 1763, they were visited by the Rev. Mr. Richardson, who continued to preach occasionally among them, through the period of which we now treat. About the year 1768 the people on Indian Creek formed a society and built a meeting-house, of which body the church of Grassy Spring, subsequently organized, was a branch.

UNION CHURCH, known also as the BROWN'S CREEK Church.—Of the beginning of this church we have before spoken (p. 299). Besides the families we have mentioned as the first settlers, we now add, from a competent authority (Rev. James H. Saye), the names of Young, Savage, Hughes, Vance, and Wilson. Scarcely had they got out rights for their land, and cleared a little ground, when the Indians of the Cherokee tribe made a hostile attack, in their savage manner, on this defenceless frontier settlement, and the inhabitants were obliged to betake themselves to Otterson's fort as an asylum.

Several Quakers were their associates in this distress, yet, notwithstanding repeated attacks were made on the fort by the savages, those non-resisting sufferers refused to take up arms in its defence.

During this season of calamity numbers of the inhabitants fell victims to Indian barbarity; yet amidst these melancholy scenes of skirmishing, wounds, and death, in the intervals of military duty, this little band of Presbyterians would join in reading, prayer, and other devotional exercises.

After being thus invested and painfully harrassed for several months, it was unanimously concluded to abandon that fort. The majority of the Presbyterians retired into Pennington's fort on the Enoree. Here they found none of their own religious sentiments. There were one or two pious Baptists; the rest were generally indifferent or dissolute in their morals. Yet there these refugees still endeavored to maintain and manifest their attachment to the principles of piety in which they had been educated, by observance of the Lord's-day, reading the Scriptures, family and social prayer, etc.

In this manner, enduring the difficulties arising from fatigue, fear, and watching, more than two years elapsed, to which inconvenience the apprehension of famine was super-added.

After the peace of 1763 they returned to their homes. For

the first time since they left Pennsylvania they heard a gospel sermon from the Rev. William Richardson, from Waxhaw, who on that and several succeeding visits preached among them and baptized several persons. He was succeeded by two ministers at different times, both named Lewis.

About 1765 Mr. Joseph Alexander began to preach occasionally here. A house of worship by this time was erected and trustees were now chosen, and the congregation was organized by the name of Union. The site of this church was on Brown's Creek, about four miles from the present site of Unionville, near the road now leading from that place to Pinckneyville. It was intended to be used in common by Presbyterians and Episcopalians. Hence its name. It seems to have been a noted place, as its name was transferred to the county in which it was situated when county courts were first introduced into the State.—(MS. of Jas. H. Saye.)

From this time visits were received successively from the Rev. Mr. Bay of Pennsylvania, Messrs. Roe and Close from New England, Mr. Campbell of Scotland, and in 1769 from Mr. Edmonds of Charleston.—(MS. History of Churches in Second Presbytery of South Carolina.)

Of the FISHING CREEK Church, afterwards called Richardson, and Lower Fishing Creek, we can obtain no certain information from the year 1760 to 1770; but as it had presented a call to the presbytery of Charleston, with which Mr. Richardson was connected, and obtained his services in 1758, it is probable that he continued through these years to hold this congregation under his charge as well as that of Waxhaw, besides performing a large amount of itinerant labor for the benefit of other Presbyterian communities. He well deserves the name of the evangelist and apostle of this frontier country. As we have had occasion frequently to mention the sufferings of these churches and congregations from the Cherokee Indians, from 1760 to 1763, we would be glad to introduce here the history of Katharine Steel, the heroine of "Steel's Fort;" of the capture of Mrs. McKenny by the Indians, who struck her to the ground with their tomahawks, scalped her, and left her insensible, but who recovered from her frightful wounds and became the mother of a family; of the gallant defence of her house by Melbury; of the killing of John McDaniel and his wife, the capture of their seven children, and their rescue. But we must refer our readers to the narrative of these and other thrilling events in Mrs. E. F. Ellet's "Women of the Revolution," iii., 85-97, who has gracefully wrought up these

incidents from materials furnished to her hand by Daniel G. Stinson, Esq., of Cedar Shoal, a descendant from these early settlers, whose opportunities and tastes have enabled him to perpetuate so many of these early traditions.

DUNCAN'S CREEK Church is situated in Laurens district, on the waters of Enoree, a branch of Broad river. It was principally composed of emigrants from Ireland and Pennsylvania with their descendants, some of whom settled here as early as 1758. The original settlement was made three years before Braddock's defeat, by Mr. John Duncan, of Aberdeen, Scotland, who first emigrated to Pennsylvania, and thence removed here and settled on the creek which bears his name. He was the highest settler by ten miles in the fork between the Saluda and Broad rivers, and the only man at this time who had either negro, wagon, or still, in this part of the world. His nearest neighbor was Jacob Pennington, living on the Enoree below.

About the year 1763 or 1764, Messrs. Joseph Adair, Thomas Erving, William Hanna, Andrew McCrory and his brothers, united in building a house of worship. In 1766 they were visited by Mr. Duffield, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Campbell. Mr. Duffield was probably George D. D., who was licensed by the presbytery of Newcastle in 1756, and was sent by the synod of New York to Carolina in 1765, and was afterwards settled in Carlisle and Philadelphia. Campbell was James Campbell, who joined the South Carolina presbytery in 1758, and became pastor of the Bluff church in North Carolina. Afterwards they were visited by Rev. Hezekiah Balch, licensed by the presbytery of Newcastle in 1768-9, and whose name will occur again in these pages. Mr. Balch advised the people to choose elders. This was done. Andrew McCrory, Joseph Adair, and Robert Hanna, were elected, and ordained by Mr. Balch. James Pollock and Thomas Logan having come into the bounds of the congregation a short time before, the former from Pennsylvania and the latter from Ireland, on producing certificates of their membership and ordination, were chosen elders of this church. The communion was also administered, the number of communicants at that time being about sixty. —("Materials," etc., furnished Genl. Ass. by Rev. J. B. Kennedy and Dr. Waddel in 1808-9.)

The manners and dress of these first settlers must have been quite primitive. Their dress was as follows: hunting-shirt, leggings, and moccasins, adorned with buckles and beads. The hair was clubbed and tied up in a little deer-

skin or silk bag. At another time they wore their hair cued and rolled up in a black ribbon or bear's-gut dressed and dyed black. Again it became a custom to shave off the hair and wear white linen caps with ruffles around. The women's dress was long-eared caps, Virginia bonnets, short gowns, long gowns, stays, stomachers, quilted petticoats, high wooden heels. There was little market for produce except to the new settlers. Trade was carried on in skins and furs. Deer and beaver skins were a lawful tender in payment of debts. Summer skins were 1s. 11d. sterling, winter skins 18 pence sterling, Indian-dressed skins \$1 per pound.—(Testimony of James Duncan, son of the first settler, in Mills' Statistics.) In the early settlement of the country he followed hunting for seven years. He was in the whole of Col. Grant's war with the Indians, and was afterwards a soldier of the Revolution.

CATHOLIC CONGREGATION is situated about fifteen miles southeast from Chester Courthouse, near the dividing ridge between the Great and Little Rocky Creek. The emigration into the bounds of this congregation continued to increase by the way of Charleston until the year 1768, which was called the great emigration from Ireland. The emigrants were entitled to receive what were called "bounty lands." Each man was entitled to one hundred acres as "a head right," and fifty acres each for every member of his family. Upon these lands, when laid out, they erected houses, generally near a spring, and cleared small plantations. Some of the immigrants having sufficient means, bought lands from the earlier settlers which were already improved. With this emigration came James Harbison, Esq., long a ruling elder in the congregation, but at that time a child of six years of age. There is a statement drawn up by him in 1830, in which he says that at that time, 1768, there was neither a common teacher nor a preacher of the gospel in this part of the country, nor is it known that it had ever been visited by one. His statement does not allow of the existence of a church and the institution of public worship before 1770. But Rev. Mr. Richardson was not far off, and the date we have before given (1759) is a possible one.

BETHEL CONGREGATION.—The house of worship is located ten miles northeast from Yorkville, on Crowder's Creek, within four miles of the North Carolina line. The migration of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians continued on from Pennsylvania, their first American home, through the valleys of Virginia and North Carolina, extending through what was then Tryon county, across the Catawba into this region of country.

Mr. Richardson was probably the first minister who visited them, and this church affords another proof of the extent and value of his labors in that new and forming country. In 1764 he preached the first sermon heard by them in their new home, and organized them into a church, which he called Bethel. They had come thus far in their migrations, and here, like the patriarch Jacob, they set up their altar in what was then a vast wilderness. They held a season of religious worship, wrestling, with that earnest, devoted evangelist at their head, with the angel of the covenant. The wild woods rang with their "songs of praise" and "hymns of lofty cheer." They lifted up their eyes upon the forests and wilderness around them, and said, "This is none other than the house of God and the gate of Heaven." And we do not doubt that they adopted the name with deep emotion, and felt and hoped that not only the house which they should erect for worship would be the house of God, but that they themselves, in their religious community, would also be the temple of the Living God, in which he should continually reside. "After this," the first sermon of Mr. Richardson in 1764, says one account before us, "they became a congregated people, built themselves a house of worship, and were supplied by various ministers from the synod of New York and Philadelphia."—(MS. Hist. of York county, South Carolina, archives of General Assembly.) They greatly increased in numbers and strength, and soon became a very respectable congregation, well organized, and able to support the gospel. Their first elders were David Watson, John Jordan, George Denney, John Gullick, Thomas Neel, and James Campbell. The residence of these elders, as far as it can be ascertained, shows that the congregation covered a region of country more than twenty miles square, from the present site of Beersheba church to the Catawba, and from beyond Olney and the South Fork to what is now known as the Indian Land.—(Hist. of Bethel Church, by Rev. Samuel L. Watson, Yorkville Enquirer, November, 1855.)

BETHESDA CHURCH and Congregation.—This church is located in York district, eight miles a little east of south from Yorkville, thirteen miles a little east from Chesterville, twenty miles from Broad river on the west, and seventeen miles from the Catawba river on the east. It is between two public roads leading north and south and less than a mile from either. The church gave name to a region of country about sixteen miles square, occupied by the members of the congregation.

The commencement of the church is assigned to the same period with that of Bethel. The original population of the neighborhood was chiefly composed of immigrants from the north of Ireland, and the great body of them were Presbyterians by education and choice. A few, less than six families, were Roman Catholics. The most came directly from their native Ireland; others from different parts of the United States, but chiefly from Pennsylvania, and a few from the lower parts of South Carolina. About one hundred and forty families became located in the settlement of Bethesda in this and the following decade, or more strictly from the years 1765 to 1780.* Most of these families, if not all, lived within the bounds of the congregation, or were accustomed to worship at the church, and buried their dead in the common cemetery.

At a central point in the settlement they erected, about the year 1760, a plain but substantial wooden building as a house of worship, about a mile eastward from the present edifice, and around it were deposited their dead, the traces of whose tombstones are visible to this day (1863). At this house missionaries traversing the country occasionally preached. The church was organized either by Rev. William Richardson of Waxhaw, or Rev. Hezekiah Balch, a missionary sent

* Their names are as follows:—Adair (John and William), Adams, Akins, Ash (Robert), Adrian, Arthur; Baird, Barry, Berry (William), Black (Thomas), Boggs (Thomas), Bratton (Colonel William, Hugh, Thomas, Samuel, and Robert), Burriss (William), Brown (Robert), Byers (Edward); Carroll (John and Thomas), Carson (John, William, and Thomas), Chambers (Captain John), Clendenin (Thomas), Curry (Charles), Cooper (John); Davidson (William), Dickey, Drewry, Dennis (John); Erwin (William); Fleming (Robert and Elijah), Fonderon (John); Gallaher, Gibson, Gill (Robert, James, Thomas, and Arthur), Givens (Daniel), Guy (William), Glover, Giver (James), Gaston (Joseph), Gordon (David); Hanna (William and James), Hemphill (James and John), Hillhouse, Howie (Robert), Hetherington, Harris (John), Henry (William and four sons, William, Malcom, John, and Alexander); Keenan, Kelsey (Samuel), Kidd (John), Kirkpatrick, Kuykandale (Matthew and Samuel); Latham, Lacy (General Edmond), Leach (David), Love (Colonel Andrew), Lewis (William); McElwee (James), Manahan (William), Martin (John, Captain James, and Edward), McLain, McCaw (John), McCrory, Meek (James and Edward), Mitchel (Captain James), Miller (John), McElhenry (James), Murphy (John), Mills (Charles), Marley, McNeel (James), McConnell (Captain John and Reuben), McLure (James) Moore (three families, Major James two, Alexander and William three, John and his sons, John, Samuel, Nathan, and William); Norman, Neely (Samuel and Thomas); Pagan, Palmer, Porter; Qwin; Ratchford (George), Robeson, Ross (James and William), Rainey (Thomas, Samuel, and Benjamin), Ray (Henry); Sadler (David and Richard), Silliman, Steele (Joseph), Straight (Christopher), Swann (John), Starr (Arthur), Smith, Stallions; Trail; Wallace (Captain James, John, and Thomas), Waters, Williams, Williamson (James and five sons, viz., John, Adam, Samuel, George, and James), Wiley; Young.

out by the synod of New York and Philadelphia in 1769, or by Messrs. Azel Roe and John Close, missionaries from the same body, in 1770. In all probability, to Mr. Richardson is to be ascribed the honor of organizing this ancient church. Among those who supplied its pulpit in the early time of its history may be named the Rev. Hezekiah James Balch and the Rev. (afterwards Dr.) Joseph Alexander of Bullock's Creek. The organization of the church is believed to have taken place in 1769. The first elders were — Neely, of whom no information has been obtained, save that he filled this honorable office; John Young, who served in this capacity till 1790, in which year he died, and Robert Fleming, who lived till the close of this century, when he died, leaving his mantle to fall upon his sons, of whom he had four. The sons of Robert Fleming were Elijah, also an elder in this church; Alexander, who died in Camden jail of small-pox during the Revolution; Robert, who moved to Franklin county, Georgia, about 1803; and William, who also removed to Georgia, and was for a long time an elder in Hebron church, Franklin county. He subsequently removed to Texas, where he died. One of the daughters married William Ash in Franklin county, Georgia, and the other an Adrian, who assisted in founding and became an elder in New Lebanon church, Franklin county, Georgia.— (MS. Hist. by Rev. John S. Harris.)

LITTLE RIVER CHURCH is situated near the boundary line of the district of Laurens and Newberry. It was first organized in 1764, by Rev. James Creswell. Its first elders were James Williams (who held a colonel's commission, and fell at King's Mountain, in the war of the Revolution), Angus Campbell, and James Burnside. Rev. James Creswell was a native of Ireland, who emigrated to this country in his youth. He pursued his studies for the ministry while teaching school at Colonel Gordon's in Lancaster county, Virginia. He was introduced to the presbytery of Hanover at Cub Creek, October 6th, 1763, and licensed at Tinkling Spring, Virginia, May 2d, 1764. He was ordained at Lower Hico, in North Carolina, in October, 1764. He must have gathered this church soon after his ordination, in the beginning of his ministry. Yet this settlement petitioned the synod of New York and Philadelphia for supplies in 1766, as did also Long Canes, Indian Creek, and Fishing Creek. The "Statutes at Large," vol. viii., p. 117, give evidence of the interest he took in the subject of education. They record the incorporation of the "Salem Society," formed for the purpose of endowing and sup-

porting a school and seminary of learning between the Catawba and Savannah rivers, near the Little River meeting-house. They were empowered to hold property to the amount of \$10,000 per annum, for the endowment and support of the school and the maintenance and education of orphans or indigent children. Of this society the Rev. James Creswell was president, and John Williams (son of Daniel) and James Caffin were wardens, at the time of the incorporation, March 16th, 1768. They were empowered to hold funds for the maintenance of the school and the education of poor, helpless orphans and indigent children.

BULLOCK'S CREEK CHURCH is situated in the southwestern part of York district. It applied to the synod of New York and Philadelphia for supplies in 1766. It is said to have been organized by the Rev. Messrs. Azel Roe and John Close in 1769, who were sent as missionaries to the destitute settlements of the south by the synod of New York and Philadelphia. It was by them called *Dan*. The congregation preferred the name of Bullock's Creek, on the waters of which the church was located. Previous to the organization, Rev. Messrs. Richardson, Alexander, and others, had preached in the vicinity with a view to gathering a church and establishing the gospel ministry among them.

BEERSHEBA is situated in York district, on the waters of Bullock's Creek, and was organized nearly at the same time with the church last mentioned, viz., in the year 1769.

NAZARETH CHURCH is situated in the district of Spartanburg, on the waters of Tyger river, towards its source. Its first formation proceeded from a few families, eight or ten in number, who obtained supplies in 1766, and were soon afterwards organized into a society.—(MS. Hist. of Second Presbytery of South Carolina.) The Rev. Robert H. Reid dates the first settlements on Tyger river about the year 1761. They certainly existed before the year 1765, for in that year the road that passes by the church between the North and Middle rivers was opened. The first settlers were Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania. When they left the north of Ireland and came into Pennsylvania we have at present no means of ascertaining. Some of the families were in Pennsylvania as early as 1732, for in that year Captain Barry was born in that State. The names of the first settlers were Barry, Moore, Anderson, Collins, Thompson, Vernon, Pearson, Jamison, Dodd, Ray, Penrey, McMahan, and Nichol. About the year 1767 or 1768 their numbers were increased by a colony which came directly

from the north of Ireland. They were each entitled to one hundred acres of land by a grant from his majesty George II., and the old titles bear date in 1768. The families of Caldwell, Coan, Snoddy, Pedan, Alexander, Gaston, Morton, and perhaps some others, came at that time. These first settlers on Tyger river, like all of the same descent, were full of reverence for God's word and for the institutions of religion; and no sooner had they established their homes in the forest of the New World than they made the best arrangements in their power for the public worship of the God of their fathers.

LONG CANES.—Abbeville district embraced the extensive settlement known formerly far and wide as Long Canes. It is the upper portion of what was originally called Granville county and afterwards Ninety-Six district. The first important settlement was made in February, 1756, by about eight families, Presbyterians in faith, who emigrated from Pennsylvania to the upper parts of Virginia and North Carolina, and thence to this place. The majority of these settlers being of the name Calhoun, the particular settlement took its name from them. Previous to the settlement of Patrick Calhoun and his friends at Long Cane Creek, there were only two families of white settlers in the northwestern extremity of the province; one by the name of Gowdy, another by the name of Edwards. Gowdy was born in Ireland, and settled in that distant portion of the province about 1750. By the year 1759 the number of Presbyterian families had increased to between twenty and thirty, and would probably have been many more had not Governor Glen for some years discouraged settlers by the encouragement he gave the Indians.

The views and expectations of these settlers were to form a Presbyterian church. As far as they could do so they set up their altar and commenced their worship in the wilderness in a more private way until February 1st, 1760, when the Cherokee Indians broke in upon them, killed twenty-two persons, carried fourteen into captivity, and dispersed the survivors. Of the flight of these persons, some to the Waxhaw settlement, and others to the low country and the bounds of the Stoney Creek congregation, and the honorable testimony borne to them there, we have before spoken.

In this state of dispersion they remained for two years, and in 1763, after the expeditions of Col. Montgomery and Col. Grant, they returned with considerable addition to their numbers. About the end of 1763 the Creek Indians broke in and committed some deeds of barbarity. In the South Carolina

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Gazette of December 22d, 1763, a letter from Patrick Calhoun speaks of the murder of Mrs. Dyer and the families of Pawlet and Lawson. There were fourteen persons in the two last who were killed in one house on the Savannah river. The people took refuge in such fortified places as they were able to reach. Under date of Dec. 26th, it is said, "There are twenty-seven men and one hundred and three women and children in Fort Boone (Calhoun's); thirty-four men and one hundred and five women and children at Arthur Patten's (Long Canes); about the same number at Dr. Murray's, on Hard Labor Creek." Jan. 28th, 1764, the Irish settlers between Ninety-Six and Long Canes complain of their deserted and exposed condition. These notices from a contemporary journal, and the only one in the province, show that these early settlers were environed with dangers. Still this calamity did not dishearten nor disperse the people. In their strongholds these virtuous and hardy men watched over their wives and children with sleepless vigilance till the danger was passed, and then returned to their accustomed employments.

Thus were they situated and circumstanced until the year 1764, when Rev. William Richardson, a member of the presbytery of Charleston, visited them as a preacher of the gospel. Though his visit was short, he contributed something towards the organization of the church. In a few days he baptized about sixty children in the settlement, and about two hundred and sixty from the time he left home, in the Waxhaw settlement, till he returned, a space of four or five weeks. About this time they made strenuous efforts to secure a visit from Rev. Archibald Simpson, of Stoney Creek, near Pocotaligo. In his journal, Sept. 27th, 1764, he writes, "At the same time read a letter from Long Canes, earnestly requesting I would make them a visit and preach some Sabbaths,—same people who were driven away by the Indians some four years ago and came to this place. Have been desirous ever since I would visit them. Were attacked last winter by the Creek Indians; one man killed, another wounded. Have now a great company of negroes among them and new lands settled—are two hundred miles back from this place, in the high lands, but very much exposed to both the Creek and Cherokee Indians. Their case I ~~low~~ now is very distressing, their letter very affecting, and their messenger resolved and pleading earnestly. But when he saw my weak and low state he was silent. My heart bleeds for them. I would think it a great happiness to be able to visit them. I wrote them an affectionate letter,

giving account of my weak and sickly condition and of my desire to visit them if the Lord should restore my health and the heat of the weather were over."

In the year 1765 the Rev. George Duffield, from Pennsylvania, a member of the Carlisle presbytery, visited this church, and tarried perhaps about three or four weeks, at which time the bounds of the congregation had become so large, it was necessary that public worship should be at different places. The church, or rather churches, now underwent a further and more perfect organization by the visit and assistance of Mr. Duffield. It would thus seem from the narrative* from which we draw the chief part of this present relation, that the germs of the several churches, which were afterwards more distinctly organized, were already in existence. "There is good reason to believe," says the narrator, "that the blessing of God attended the visits of the aforesaid rev. gentleman, to the quickening of religion and to the comfort and edification of at least numbers of the people, and some spirit seemed to be given to ecclesiastical affairs."

In the year 1766 these charges were again visited for about three or four weeks by the Rev. Robert McMordie, from Pennsylvania, a member of Donegal presbytery, and a missionary from the synod of New York and Philadelphia, by whose visit the church profited. Nothing more worthy of remark happened until the years 1767 and 1768, when, in answer to ardent petitions sent to the synod of New York and Philadelphia, several ministers—Mr. McCreary, a probationer from Pennsylvania, the Rev. Andrew Bay† of Maryland, and the Rev. Thomas Lewis of Rhode Island—visited these churches, all of whom were received with gladness and with

* "Materials for the History of the Presbyterian Church in Abbeville county, State of South Carolina," in the hands of the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly. The Rev. Dr. Cummins was appointed by the presbytery of South Carolina, 1793, to collect these materials,—(Minutes, pp. 62-65). On September 24th Rev. Mr. Cummins had complied with the order. As the collections were imperfect, the order was continued and strict attention enjoined. April 8th, 1794, the materials for a church history were brought in and sent on, p. 69. These materials were collected under an order of the General Assembly, addressed to the presbyteries, and received the approval of presbytery. "Some of these first settlers yet living, and *viva voce* as well as by papers, assisting in compiling these materials, they are the more credible."—(Materials, etc., p. 1.)

† Rev. Andrew Bay married a daughter of Elihu Hall, of Nottingham, Md., and Hon. Elihu Hall Bay, one of the associate justices of South Carolina, was his son.—(Materials, etc., p. 3.) Judge Bay studied for the ministry, but was deterred from entering it by an impediment in his speech, which troubled him also on the bench. Judge O'Neill's "Bench and Bar of South Carolina," i., p. 57, relates an amusing instance.

advantage to many souls. In the year 1768 Mr. Tate, from Donegal presbytery, preached in this and the adjacent neighborhoods. In the spring of 1769 Mr. Fuller, a Congregationalist from New England, visited this people, and was greatly esteemed in the several congregations. In the summer following they were visited by Mr. Balch.—("Materials," etc. History of the Second Presbytery of South Carolina, by Rev. John B. Kennedy and Dr. Waddel, committee.)

Mr. McCreary, before mentioned, after this received a unanimous call from the congregations—two hundred and forty-nine persons setting their names to it as subscribers. These numbers indicate not only the unanimity and zeal of the church for the gospel, but also its rapid increase. This call was sent by Mr. Bay to the synod of New York and Philadelphia, at their meeting in May, 1768, accompanied with a supplication to the rev. synod to concur in presenting said call, and a supplication for "a stated supply for six months of some skillful minister," should Mr. McCreary decline the call. The call was put into his hands by synod directly; but as he required time for deliberation, he was directed to give his answer to the presbytery of Newcastle, under whose care he was as a probationer, who were desired to ordain him, should he accept.—(Minutes of Synod of New York and Philadelphia, p. 387. Petitions for supplies had been preferred in 1764, 1766, and 1767; Minutes, pp. 346, 360, 374.) In this call the church was unsuccessful. It is evident that the community was increasing and becoming more prosperous. Mr. Simpson incidentally mentions a company that came over from Ireland with Rev. Mr. Knox who settled in Williamsburg, the destination of whom was the Long Canes settlement.

CHAPTER IV.

DURING this period an interesting colony was brought over from France, by the way of England, by the Rev. Jean Louis Gibert, and settled in the immediate vicinity of the Long Canes people. They came to America as a refuge from the most bitter and inexorable persecutions.

We have described in earlier pages of this history the extreme hardships to which the French Protestants were reduced. The people were at length deprived of all their

ministers and all the means of education. It was not wonderful if, under these circumstances and under the irritation of terrible persecutions, there should spring up, in the absence of a clergy who had always inculcated submission to the government, the spirit of resistance. This especially manifested itself in the most southern portion of France. De Baviile, who was the supreme administrator of the province, became known—in the language of the populace—as “the King of Languedoc,” and he was the terror and horror of that unhappy people. Exasperated at their obstinacy, he would ferret out their places of secret convocation, surround them with his troops, charge upon them sabre in hand, or fire into their crowded assemblies with a discharge of musketry. The most notable of the prisoners were hung on the nearest trees, and others sent to the galleys, where they were chained to oar-benches in perpetual bondage. At the commencement of the eighteenth century there had been two thousand of these convicts, and among them men of gentle blood and ministers of Christ, who were more severely treated than highway robbers.

The war of the Camisards was different, wholly, from the struggles which had preceded it. In those the gentlemen of France were engaged—under experienced leaders—on tented fields and in regular battles. This was a war of peasants, ignorant of the art of war, without arms—except such as they wrested from their enemies—and obliged to sell their lives dearly behind the rocks and thickets of their mountains. In the Vivarais, in the high and lower Cevennes, amid their naked peaks—their bristling crests—their horrid precipices—“the image of a world tumbling to ruins and perishing with old age”—they found their strongholds. The caverns of the mountains served them for granaries, magazines, stables, hospitals, powder-mills, arsenals, and armories. Their government was a military theocracy. For purposes of military discipline, there were captains of tens, of fifties, and hundreds. Their chiefs were prophets, acting, as they believed, under a divine inspiration. Their God was Jehovah; their temple, Mount Zion; their camp, the camp of the Eternal; their people, the children of God. Religion was their solace; desert and lonely places, sanctified by their tears, and often by their blood, were their temples of worship. Their captain, Cavalier, sword in hand, was everywhere present on the field of death, encouraging, animating his brethren, giving forth the most surprising orders, which were executed with unquestion-

ing confidence, and crowned with surprising success. They believed themselves to hear the word of God, and went into conflict as if clad with iron. Boys of twelve or fourteen years of age fought like veterans. Those who had neither sabre nor musket, did execution with clubs and slings, and the hail of bullets which whistled around their ears, and pierced their hats and sleeves, was not regarded. Their number was never more than ten thousand, but they had a good understanding with many who did not join their ranks, who, by preconcerted signals, warned them of the approach of their enemies, and gave them time for concealment in their impenetrable fastnesses.

There arose then a new order of pastors, who took the place of those whom cruel death or foreign exile had removed from them, the "pasteurs sous la croix," or "pasteurs du désert;" "pastors beneath the Cross," or "pastors of the desert." *The desert* was a vague term which they used to conceal the true places from which they wrote, or to designate, in general, their persecuted church. An attempt was made, by a man of intrepid courage, wonderful vigor of mind and body, consummate prudence and tact, incorruptible integrity, and surprising knowledge of human nature, united with an agreeable amenity of manners, to reorganize the Huguenot church. Antony Court deserves the name of restorer of Protestantism in France. At the age of seventeen years he began to preach to the churches of the desert. He was endowed by nature with remarkable gifts of eloquence, and, without the advantages of early education, he acquired, during a life of constant study and toil, rare erudition on the many topics to which his attention was directed. Even at this early age he conceived the plan of reorganizing the churches. To four points did he direct his efforts—to repress the disorders of those who pretended to be inspired; to collect regular religious assemblies; to restore the government of consistories, colloquies, and synods; to raise up young ministers, who should undertake the work of preaching the gospel amid scaffolds and gibbets, in the spirit of martyrs. In all these things he was wonderfully successful. He travelled through the country, gathering the adherents of the truth together in desolate and hidden places. At first he was able to collect but six, ten, or twelve persons, in some gap in the rocks, in some remote barn or open meadow; but at last he had the pleasure of meeting, sometimes, ten thousand souls for the worship of God. Their assemblies were held at night, under the shadow of rocks, or in caves and dens of the earth.

A system of secret intelligence prevailed. Letters were addressed to third persons of approved fidelity, and the names of those for whom they were destined concealed in anagrams hard to decipher. Notices of meetings were sent by chosen messengers from place to place, and whispered from one to another. Experienced guides conducted the ministers, at night, by adventurous and secret routes, concealed often under ingenious disguises, to the place of convocation. Sentinels placed upon the heights, at different distances, watched the approach of troops, upon whom Protestants in the towns and cities continually kept their eye, that they might convey to their brethren information of their movements. The ministers changed their abode each night, and no sufferings to which their adherents were exposed could prevail for their betrayal.

For the education of ministers for the scattered flock, he established an institution at Lausanne, in Switzerland, which became one of unspeakable importance to the persecuted church. To sustain it he raised subscriptions in Switzerland, England, Holland, and Germany. He searched out young men who were willing to take upon themselves the vocation of martyrdom. From the plough, the shops of artisans and merchants, and from any source whence he could draw devoted and talented youth, he gathered them, sent them to Lausanne, and provided for their support till they were prepared for their work, and were initiated into their arduous, dangerous vocation as "pastors of the desert." It was this academy at Lausanne which saved the Protestants of France. It continued in existence for three-quarters of a century, and was closed by Napoleon in 1809, who transferred its theological faculty to Montauban. In 1740 this seminary sent into Saintonge several of its young *proposans*, or *candidates*, who reorganized, secretly, several churches, and were followed in 1744 by regular ministers of the gospel. In 1745 they received from the same institution three others, Du Bessé, Gounon, called also Pradon, and Jean Louis Gibert,* who

* M. Jean Louis Gibert, pasteur, et M. Louis Figuière, candidate, with two elders, were members of the National Synod in "the desert," which sat from May 4-10, 1756, of which Pierre Peyrot was moderator, and Paul Rabaut assistant moderator. Coquerel says, "This remarkable term, 'moderator,' to designate the presiding officer of a synod, was invented by the Calvinistic discipline to avoid the term *president*, which might indicate a superiority of rank. The absolute equality of all ministers, the presence of laics voting in the synod, and the perfect competency of laics to judge in doctrinal matters equally with the clergy, form the essential basis of the Calvinist-Presbyterian discipline.—(Hist. des Églises du Désert, i., p. 545.)

founded the French Protestant colony in Abbeville district, South Carolina, and who was born near Alais, Languedoc, July 22d, 1722. Both he and Etienne [Stephen] Gibert were students at Lausanne. These last three pastors had no permanent abode. Always on horseback, they itinerated through the cities, towns, and villages. After the fatigues of the day they would claim the hospitality of Protestant families known by their zeal, and it was always accorded to them with the liveliest alacrity.

The Protestants of Pons, who had survived the persecutions, were animated with new courage by the presence of these faithful servants of God. At the suggestion of Louis Gibert, who did not cease to visit and electrify them by his warm exhortations, they constituted themselves secretly into a church. But already the attention of their infuriated enemies had been attracted to this religious revival, and they hastened to take measures for arresting its progress. The three zealous pastors, and above all Gibert, who seemed the most formidable, were denounced to the magistrates. A price was set upon the head of this eminent pastor, and the bishop of Saintes neglected no means of securing his apprehension. The following scheme was adopted: a man by the name of Syntier established himself at Pons, who appeared to be a person of some pretension. He assumed to be a zealous Protestant, avoiding the Catholics, and obtaining the articles of merchandise he needed from Protestants alone. The Protestants of Pons gave him their confidence. He applied to M. Gibert to baptize his infant child, which he did accordingly. He also invited the minister to dine with him the following day; but Gibert being warned by his friends, who had begun to suspect Mr. Syntier, declined the invitation. Syntier had given information to the soldiers the night before, who took a position near which he was expected to pass. No sooner was this done than Mr. Gibert rode by, accompanied by two other persons. The cavaliers mounted promptly and charged upon them in pursuit. They captured one of the party, who was a deacon in the church, fired upon and killed another; but the minister escaped by the fleetness of the horse he rode. The whole was planned by the chief of the diocese for the capture of the faithful pastor. The facts are recorded in the baptismal register of the parish of St. Martin de Pons, over the signature of the curate.

The night before Jean Louis Gibert's arrival at Pons he slept at the house of an elder of the church of Gemozac, by

the name of Bugeaud. The gentleman who accompanied him was the Count de Grâce, who was actively employed in establishing the churches. On leaving Pons, this last had forced Gibert, whose ministry he appreciated, to change horses with him. They did not seek to resist. They refused simply to stop when commanded to do so, and it was then that the balls of the horsemen struck the unfortunate gentleman who rode the horse which had been described to them as the horse of the minister. This attempt discouraged neither the pastor nor the flock. At the commencement of 1755, Louis Gibert reappeared at Pons, and assembled the scattered members of this ancient church at the wood of Merlet, in the parish of Tanzac. This reunion was fatal to some who assisted at it, who were seized and conducted to the prison of Rochelle.

There is another scene which shows the courage and conduct of this noble pastor of the desert, who ended his days, and whose descendants still live, in South Carolina.

“The depth of the woods, out-of-the-way places, caverns of the rocks, or the shores of the ocean, served them as temples. Often, by the feeble light of the torch, did they there listen in pious meditation to the reading of the word of God, which had become their only treasure, or to the touching recitals of the sufferings, firmness, and courageous death of their distant brethren. In spite of the danger, it was sufficient to announce the presence of a pastor in a particular place, to see the scattered members of the neighboring churches hasten thither. One of the last and most remarkable of these reunions took place under the ministry of Louis Gibert. Two days before the appointed time, many of the Reformed arrived from the most distant parts of Saintonge. A generous hospitality was accorded them in the dwellings of the Protestants living near, and of the Catholics who had never approved the severity with which they had been treated. But it was not till the next day, and the day of the assembly, that the mass of the faithful arrived. The richer were borne on vehicles, or mounted on horses. The others had accomplished long journeys on foot. The intrepid Gibert, on whose head a price was always set, was not tardy in reaching his numerous flock. He escaped the pursuit of his enemies a few days later, only by hiding under the straw, at the house of an elder of La Salle, named Guillot. To avoid all surprise, it was agreed that they should hold the service, as usual, at night, in the heart of the forest of Velleret, in a place where there was a wide space, called still by the inhabitants the Combe de la Bataille, in memory,

doubtless, of some ancient battle with the English. All was arranged for the celebration of worship. They carried thither the different pieces which composed the pulpit of the desert. This was placed between two oaks. The communion-table was arranged in the enclosure of the consistory, or the place reserved for the elders. Seven flambeaus, placed at intervals, shed a feeble light over seven or eight thousand persons grouped together in pious meditation. A moment after these preparations, the pastor, escorted by certain of the faithful, armed for his defence, ascended the pulpit clad in his ecclesiastical habit. Their arms were then laid aside. At the invitation of Louis Gibert the assembly sang the eighty-fourth Psalm, whose words were so appropriate to their present circumstances. But the solemn chant, which re-echoed with such clearness during the silence of the night, gave the alarm to certain enemies of the gospel, who, suspecting some assembly, were prowling about to discover the place the Protestants had chosen. They hastened towards the Combe de la Bataille, having at their head Bernard, governor (tutor) of Prince Camille of Pons. Gibert did not allow himself to be disconcerted by their presence. He ordered from the pulpit that they should seize their persons, disarm them, and place them in the consistory, that they might convince themselves that their assemblies had no other object than the worship of God. The services then continued without interruption. A considerable number of children, brought from places the most distant, were baptized. Young people of both sexes, who had been instructed by the elders in the truths of the gospel, were received into the membership of the persecuted church, and many marriages were celebrated. Gibert, in a discourse full of faith and life, touched the hearts of his numerous auditors, who with tears of gratitude took part in the sacrament of the supper, which some of them had been deprived of for a long time. The meeting continued nearly five hours. Those who had assisted at it resumed their journey homewards, blessing the Lord for the holy joys he had vouchsafed. All had not the good fortune to reach their homes in safety. Some had to submit on the way to many persecutions of the enemies of the gospel. Monsieur Labbé, captain of the Coast Dragoons, slew with his own hand a married lady of La Jaille. The widow Larente, who accompanied her, would have shared the same fate if the sword of this fanatic had not broken against her corset.”—(Crottet, *Histoire des Églises Reformées de Pons.*)

After these events, we find this indefatigable minister still

active. He encouraged the Protestants of Pons to secure to themselves a house of worship. They accomplished this by purchasing two houses adjoining each other, removing the separating wall, and arranging the interior for religious service. He stimulated the faithful of Saint-Seurin and de Mortagne to construct also a place of worship. This they did, but it was demolished by their persecutors in 1768. He also established a school at Biziterie for Protestant children. Still later we find him engaged in building a church at Gemozac. These churches were often barns, at other times dwelling-houses, converted to purposes of religion. But the intendant of Rochelle, de Baillon, councillor of state, ordered all such to be demolished. Martin Pasdejue, of Arvert, for disposing of his granges, or barns, at Avallon, for this purpose, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a convent. Soon there followed a judgment against the pastor who had occupied the post of danger. A sentence was passed, July 14th, 1756, by the same intendant against the minister, Gibert, "duly held and convicted of having performed the functions of minister for many years in the province of Saintonge; with having convoked and held assemblies of religionists; with having preached; celebrated the supper, baptisms, and marriages." He was condemned to the gibbet after submitting to this singular procedure. He must be conducted to the principal gate of the church of Saint Bartholomew, "and there, with head uncovered, on his knees, say and declare, in a loud and intelligible voice, that he had wickedly, and as ill-advised, performed the aforesaid functions of the ministry, to the prejudice of the ordinances of his majesty." The nephew of the minister, Stephen Gibert, must assist at the execution of his uncle, and then be conducted to the galleys. The Protestants, Gentelot de Sainte-Foy, and Belrieu de la Grâce, convicted of having accompanied the minister Gibert, nightly, and of having menaced, with their pistols, the cavaliers who would seize them, were condemned to prison, and Andrew Bonfils was banished. Happily, the persons accused had fled. De Belrieu had died. "His memory must abide suppressed." The intendant did not fail to take possession of their goods, not being able to seize their persons. This accounts for the note of Paul Rabaut in his journal: "The pastor, Gibert, is exposing himself greatly in Saintonge." The courageous and zealous minister survived a long time this barbarous sentence. —(Coquerel, *Histoire des Églises du Désert*, ii., 228; also, *Lett. du Past. Etienne Gibert*, in Coquerel, p. 363.)

Despairing of finding liberty of worship in his own land, he conceived the project, which could hardly be universally carried into execution, of an extensive expatriation of his fellow-worshippers to foreign countries. His plan was to make this known at Versailles, to show that the way was open, and to hold it up in terror to the government if the persecution should recommence.

Rev. Jean Louis Gibert, accompanied by Etienne Gibert, his nephew according to Coquerel, his brother according to Moragne, in the year 1763 left France for England, and negotiated with the English government for the transportation of colonists to Carolina. His memorial was read in council July 6th, 1763, praying for a tract of thirty square miles on the eastern bank of the Savannah, between Purysburg and Fort Moore. This memorial was for substance granted. By correspondence with his friends in various provinces in France, two hundred and twelve persons, having hastily converted their effects into money, commenced their travels in small numbers from Languedoc, Hainault, and Montrevel, and from the river Loire, pursuing their way in secret, and often by night. "On the 2d of August, 1763, a considerable number arrive near the Royant, where the ship lies at anchor. But from the secrecy required, or from some other cause, the vessel is unsupplied with provisions, and one of the emigrants has to pay down £31 16s. to purchase the necessary supplies. On the 9th of August they put out to sea. For one week they were tossed by contrary winds, and at length, on the 16th of August, they were driven by stress of weather into the port of D'Artimon, ten leagues from Plymouth, where they took in supplies, having been without provisions for several days. On the 22d they put to sea again in their frail barque, which soon sprang a leak, to the alarm of the captain and all; and the passengers were compelled to work incessantly, for four long hours, with buckets and with the pumps, to keep the water out of the captain's cabin. At length, by a very narrow and dangerous passage between two rocks, they reached the English shore, whence some of the company preferred to journey by land, and arrived on the 25th at the appointed *rendezvous*. At Plymouth they remained from the 25th August to January 25th, 1764, much longer than was expected, and while there, in the language of the private journalist, they say — 'we have undergone much trouble, which is too bitter to speak of here.'"

They set sail from Plymouth in another vessel, destined for

Charleston, on the 25th of January, 1764, with a moderate wind. While yet in the Channel there blew a great tempest, stranding the vessel on some rocks, with great risk of perishing, in which time they had their clothes and bedding severely drenched by the waves of the sea rising on the deck of the vessel. They stood in the roadstead of Farbret, some eleven leagues further than Plymouth from Charleston, till the 14th of February; and, as if these persecuted wanderers were not sufficiently smitten by the visitations of Heaven, a rebellion arose among themselves against the captain of the vessel on account of the spoiled meats. "Many hard words were spoken, which" (in the language of the pious journalist) "brought down the wrath of God upon us."

"On the 17th they were driven back into Plymouth, and on the 22d set sail once more for Charleston under a fair wind, which grew better and better for several days. On the 17th March they met a vessel from Carolina in time of a calm. On the 30th another dispute arose about the bread, which had been spoiled by the worms. Finally, after boisterous weather and several severe claps of thunder, which gave alarm, they hove in sight of the American shore, to the great delight of the emigrants (as we are told), who had been forty-seven days complete without the sight of aught but the heavens and the wide expanse of waters. But soon their joy was changed to sadness. The vessel ran aground on a bank of sand, and had to be lightened by throwing everything that could be spared into the sea. On the 14th of April they debarked at Charleston, and took their lodging in barracks, presented to them by the inhabitants of the town. They received many liberalities from the French church at that place, in awaiting the bounty of the province. After a residence of six months and a half in Charleston and at Port Royal (Beaufort), where they experienced great fatigue and inconvenience, and in the language of the journalist were almost worn out with grief, a party of three, of which Mr. Boutiton was one, were sent up, in the month of April or May, 1764, to explore the country and to select a site for the town. They returned and appeared before the council, May 28th, 1764, to make their report. The season being too far advanced for them to make a crop on their new lands, and their provisions being exhausted, the colonists, or a portion of them, had been sent a short time after their arrival to Fort Lyttleton, and supplied by the province.

Some of them returned to Charleston about the 1st of July, and set out in two parties for New Bordeaux—the advance

party July 16th, 1764; but they reached only ten miles, when their teams proving insufficient, they sent back for assistance. On July 25th the advance party set out again from Flood's (ten miles from Charleston) in great spirits—the rest following the next day. These parties arrived at New Bordeaux, the first on the 5th, and the second on the 7th August, 1764. The party with Pierre Moragne did not reach the town till November 15th. The Rev. Mr. Gibert did not leave Charleston till some months afterwards—the Rev. Mr. Boutiton taking his place temporarily as spiritual leader of the colony.

The labor of clearing land and building houses was begun by the colony the same day of their arrival on the western bank of the river. The site of a town had been determined on, and each emigrant proceeded to appropriate to himself and to improve the little lot assigned to him. The town, called New Bordeaux, after Bordeaux in France, from the neighborhood of which most of the colony came, was situated in a rich and level valley on the western bank of Little river, shut in by hills and a deep forest, and was built up, we are told, in a square or rectangular form, after the usual French style, having in the centre of the square a plain log building, used as a town-hall or *Hôtel de Ville*—a sort of “Bureau des Affaires.” The land on which the town proper was built, comprising one hundred and fifty acres, was bought from one James Davies for £250—or about \$1200. In the buildings on this land, the French, on their arrival, deposited their arms, baggage, etc. By the 20th September, 1764, they had six frame houses set up, and fourteen more frames ready for erection. The half-acre lots were laid off in the lower part of the town about September 25th, 1764. To each head of a family was assigned a half-acre lot within the town, and from documents now extant, as many as one hundred and seventy-four lots were laid out so early as April, 1765, under the lieutenant-governorship of William Bull, in the fifth year of the reign of George III. of England. Vineyard lots, containing four acres each, were likewise granted and laid out, adjacent to the limits of the town; and about the same time parcels of land of one hundred acres each were given as bounty land to each male and female adult. All these grants lay in Hillsborough township, which had been surveyed by Patrick Calhoun, and was at that time the only civil jurisdiction in this immediate part of the State: a section of country about ten miles square lying on both sides of Little river, and extending westwardly to the Savannah.



